

# File #:

62-116395

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# Serial Scope:

231 THRU 235

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236 THRU 1<sup>ST</sup> NR 237

1<sup>ST</sup> NR 238, 239

241, 242

244, 245

247

249, 1<sup>ST</sup> NR 249

252 THRU 254

255 THRU 260

262 THRU 265

Released under the John F.  
Kennedy Assassination Records  
Collection Act of 1992 (44 USC  
2107 Note). Case#:NW 55020  
Date: 4-11-2018

Alan G. Sentinella

May 21, 1975

The following represents the writer's recollection of testimony given this date before the Senate Select Committee (SSC) pursuant to subpoena. The session commenced at 10 a.m. 5/21/75 in Room 607, <sup>former</sup> Carroll Arms Hotel. Present was Senator Robert Morgan (North Carolina); Lester B. Seidel, Staff Member; Mr. Jack Smith, Staff Member; Mr. John Bailey, Assistant Minority Counsel, and a male reporter. Senator Morgan placed the writer under oath. Approximately four or five minutes later Senator Morgan excused himself with a general statement to the effect he had other pressing matters. The entire proceedings with only two exceptions were conducted by Lester B. Seidel.

Seidel explained the writer was entitled to counsel, had the privilege of invoking provisions of the Fifth Amendment, and would have the privilege of making an opening and closing statement. Seidel inquired whether the writer understood his rights and the Committee's rules and regulations, a copy of which he had made available.

The writer acknowledged receipt of the Committee's rules and regulations as furnished by Seidel at 9:31 a.m. 5/21/75. He also acknowledged he had been informed of the right to counsel but inasmuch as this Committee was not understood

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/19/00 BY SP2 ALM/lmf

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-265

62-116395-265  
1-7/16/75  
A G, 6/9/75  
Sentinella  
Zwilling  
Coordinating  
1-7/16/75  
A G, 6/9/75  
Sentinella  
Zwilling  
Coordinating

to constitute a grand jury and in the absence of any charges or allegations of a violation of law on his part, he did not insist on the presence of counsel.

Seidel was advised <sup>that</sup> as a former Special Agent the writer had contacted the Bureau's Legal Counsel Division and as of this date had been advised by Mr. Paul Daly thereof that he had been cleared by the Attorney General (AG) to testify to matters relating to investigation of Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Stanley Levison.

Seidel was advised that during his interview of the writer in Atlanta, Georgia, on 5/12/75 he had asked a question as to how long after the assassination of King did the telephone surveillance continue on the King residence. On 5/12/75 the writer responded it was his recollection this coverage continued until a short time subsequent to the assassination. Following that interview, the writer recalled that either shortly before or shortly after that case was assigned to the writer, the King family had moved from one residence to another and that continuation of the telephone surveillance from the former residence to the latter one was not authorized. Secondly, Seidel on 5/12/75 had asked when the King and SCLC cases were



assigned to the writer, the writer recalled such assignment was in the early part of 1965; that it was now the writer's recollection this assignment was made in May, 1965.

"Set forth below are questions asked by Seidel (unless otherwise indicated) and the writer's answers. These questions and answers are not set forth chronologically.

"Q. Why was continuance of the telephone surveillance not continued to the Kings' new residence?

"A. Continuance was not authorized by the AG.

"Q. What telephone surveillance was there conducted by Atlanta of Stanley Levison?

"A. There was no such coverage per se only such as afforded by contacts made of King or members of the SCLC staff by Levison.

"Q. Was there telephone surveillance of Levison in New York?

"A. Any contacts of King by Levison while in New York would have been covered.

"Q. Did the New York Office maintain telephone surveillance of Levison?

"A. I do not directly know.

"Q. During the Atlanta interview you indicated you had read New York reports concerning Levison. Is that correct?



"A. Yes.

"Q. During Atlanta interview you indicated you presumed these reports set forth information concerning Levison from a telephone surveillance. Is that correct?

"A. Yes.

"Q. What was the basis for your presumption?

"A. The appropriate administrative portion of such report would have so indicated.

"Q. What evidence of CP connections did your investigation develop concerning Levison?

"A. None.

"Q. What information did you have establishing CP connection re Levison?

"A. Such information as was set forth in what was then referred to as a characterization of Levison. Such characterization was a part of each report submitted to the Bureau.

"Q. What was the nature of this characterization?

"A. I do not remember the precise language. It is my recollection the statement was brief and set forth information establishing past and/or present CP affiliation by Levison.

"Q. Where did you obtain this characterization?

"A. A characterization of an individual or organization at that time was prepared by the field office concerned, submitted

to Bureau Headquarters for its approval, and such was made available to offices having a need-to-know this information.

Q. What was the source of this information regarding Levison.

*See attached pages ITEM II*  
A. I do not recall that I was ever apprised thereof. A characterization would not indicate the source of the information, unless public source information was utilized, otherwise the reliability or lack thereof of the source or sources would be indicated but not their identity.

Q. What prompted you today to amend your answer on May the 12th '75 as to how long telephone surveillance continued on the King residence? Did you seek the advice or an answer from someone?

*ONLY*  
A. <sup>ONLY</sup> To the extent that subsequent to May the 12th I conferred with a former Agent, Charles Harding, <sup>there to</sup> prior to ~~that time~~ <sup>to that question</sup> which it had concerned me, that my initial answer, for some reason did not impress me as being completely correct. I mentioned this to Harding and he informed me that my answer was incorrect and mentioned the change in the King residence and the fact coverage had not been thereafter authorized. When he informed me of this I immediately recalled the change in residence which previously had escaped my memory.

Q. Why would Harding know this information?

✓  
A. For a period of time he was in a supervisory capacity.

Q. Was he in a supervisory capacity when the change in residence was made?

A. He was in a relief supervisory capacity at that time.

Q. Why did you rely on Harding's recollection? Is his recollection better than yours?

A. I am not suggesting his recollection is better or worse than mine. What he said to me merely served to jog my memory upon which I based my earlier statement today.

Q. You recall when I interviewed you in Atlanta most of my questions were taken from prepared notes?

A. Yes.

Q. You recall that I told you that I would make notes during the interview in order that I might later refresh my recollection as to your testimony?

A. Yes, and Mr. Seidel, you recall that I did not take any notes (to which he answered in the affirmative).

Q. Did you make any recording of that interview at the time?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you make any subsequent written recording of the interview?



"A. Yes, I did so for my personal information.

"Q. Is such writing available to this Committee?

"A. I consider it a personal item for my personal use.

I realize that you have the prerogative of subpoenaing it.

In the absence thereof, I prefer not to make it available.

"Q. How long after King's assassination did the telephone surveillance of SCLC continue?

"A. I cannot be certain. It continued for a period of time which may have been one, two, possibly three months. I simply do not remember.

"Q. Who handled SCLC and Levison case after you left the Bureau?

"A. Richard Hamilton.

"Q. When did he assume these cases?

"A. I cannot recall precisely. I am not even sure whether they had been administratively reassigned to him prior to my departure.

"Q. Who else besides Stanley Levison was in contact with King who you understood to have some type of CP connections?

"A. There was Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Bayard Rustin, and Harry Wachtel.

"Q. Hunter Pitts O'Dell, the same as Jack O'Dell?

"A. Yes, he was.

"Q. What evidence of CP connections or domination by Moscow of O'Dell, Rustin, Wachtel, did your investigation develop?

A. It did not develop any such information.

Q. How did you know of whatever their CP affiliation may have been?

A. In the same manner as in regard to Levison.

Q. What investigation did Atlanta conduct of O'Dell, Rustin, and Wachtel?

A. There was no active ongoing investigation conducted of these individuals other than during such periods when they were in contact with King or members of SCLC.

Q. Was Coretta King ever the target of an electronic surveillance?

A. Not to my knowledge beyond such coverage as might have occurred from the telephone surveillance when it applied to the King residence or on such occasions when she might have been present in SCLC headquarters.

Q. Do you know when the telephone surveillance of King and SCLC were initiated?

A. I did not have the cases at that time.

Q. Did you not learn of such information while you had these cases?

A. Yes.

Q. How?

A. From information in the appropriate file.

Q. What communication transpired between the Bureau and Atlanta relative to the initiation of these telephone surveillances,

airtels, letters, memoranda?

"A. I am certain there were airtels, letters, possibly teletypes in the file..

"Q. What was the <sup>of</sup> list of such communications?

"A. Advisement that such installation had been authorized, instructions to initiate the coverage.

"Q. Who installed the surveillances, Al Miller; was he not a technician, a wireman?

"A. Your answer to that question is not entirely correct.

Alden Miller was an Atlanta Agent who had certain technical ability. It is my recollection the surveillance was installed by an Agent who was not from the Atlanta Office. I do not remember his name.

"Q. Did you monitor any of these surveillances?

"A. No.

"Q. Did you monitor any such surveillance during this period of time?

"A. Yes. I recall on two occasions filling in for another employee in connection with telephone surveillance of the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I did not monitor the King or SCLC telephone surveillance.

"Q. What was the nature of the investigation of SNCC?



JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

Q. Can you give an example of such reference?

A. There is only one particular conversation that comes to mind at the moment and I have no recollection with whom the conversation was held; during which reference was made to a wonderful sermon they had preached together on somebody's kitchen floor.

Q. Kitchen floor?

A. Yes.

Q. What surreptitious entry was made in respect to the King residence or SCLC headquarters?

A. During the period I was concerned with these cases there was none..

Q. Supposing an Agent wanted some item from either location to use against King or SCLC. Would he not have made a surreptitious entry to obtain it?

A. No such entry was made at any time to my knowledge. I say this very firmly because the Bureau policy before the late 1950s concerning such a technique had changed.

Q. (By Jack Smith) What do you mean by saying this policy had changed?

A. During my period with the Bureau, from the beginning, such activity had to be approved by the Bureau, with reference to the period of time <sup>when</sup> the policy ~~had~~ changed <sup>it changed</sup> to the extent that obtaining authority was virtually impossible.

*therefore*



Q. Prior to 1965 in what way were you involved in any surreptitious entry?

A. Mr. Seidel, as I stated earlier I have been informed that I was released by the AG to testify before this Committee concerning King, SCLC, Stanley Levison, and matters related thereto.

Q. Did you develop any information establishing CP connection on the part of King?

A. Not beyond his affiliation with Levison and the other individuals previously mentioned.

Q. What was the objective of the investigation of King and SCLC?

A. To determine possible communist influence of King and SCLC.

Q. If, as you state, you did not develop information that King was a communist, was not this investigation in vain?

A. Not in my opinion. It is correct it did not establish that King was a CP member. It did establish that he was in contact with individuals then having past or present CP affiliation which was the objective of the investigation. *See ITEM III of attached pages.*

Q. Do you remember during 1963 King alleged that Bureau Agents were not responsive to civil rights <sup>Complaints</sup> complications in the vicinity of Albany, Georgia, and other South Georgia locations?

A. Yes, I recall news media information concerning such allegations.

Q. In response to these allegations by King, do you remember that Mr. Hoover became very concerned with King's allegations?

A. Yes. I definitely remember <sup>the</sup> news media indicating that Mr. Hoover was extremely upset.

Q. You have stated you were assigned to King and SCLC case in May, 1965, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. You previously stated these cases were initiated 12 months or perhaps a little longer prior to your receiving them. Is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there not then a connection between Director Hoover's concern with King's statements in 1963 regarding lack of attention to civil rights matters in South Georgia by the Bureau and the initiation of the investigation of King and SCLC?

*See ITEM IV of attached pages*  
A. ~~Yes~~. I did not discuss that matter with Mr. Hoover or *with* any Bureau official.

Q. Do you deny there was any such connection?

A. I cannot deny that there might have been such a connection. This was a situation in which I recall the news media on more than one occasion suggested such to be the case.

Q. From 1965 until 1971 was there any electronic surveillance of any other individual or organization in addition to King, SCLC, and SNCC?

A. To the best of my recollection there were none except as may have pertained to some strictly criminal investigations with which I had no connection.

Q. What about prior to 1965?

A. There was one concerning an individual or individuals having ~~King~~ *KLAW* connections believed to have been involved in an earlier church bombing, I believe in Birmingham, involving the death of several children.

Q. During our interview in Atlanta you stated you did not have any contact with members of the news media or clergy regarding King or SCLC. Is that correct?

A. Yes, I did not have any such contact.

Q. What discussion was had with members of the Atlanta Police Department concerning King, SCLC, and Levison, and what was the extent of their electronic coverage regarding these matters?

A. During the period of time I was concerned with King, SCLC, Levison, I had no discussion with any member of the Atlanta Police Department concerning these matters. Bureau instructions regarding these matters ~~or~~ *were* that any discussion was on a strictly need-to-know basis and I have absolutely no recollection that members of the Atlanta Police Department fitted into this category.



I do not have any knowledge as to what electronic surveillance may ever have been conducted by the Atlanta Police Department.

Q. While in Atlanta you were assigned to what was referred to as the Security and Racial Squad, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Essentially this squad was concerned with security matters, racial matters, is that correct?

A. Yes and it was also concerned with civil rights violations and election law violations.

Q. In regard to civil rights and election law matters, did you ever develop any information pertinent to the CP?

A. No.

Q. What Agents do you remember were assigned to that squad?  
Charles Harding, Arthur Murtagh?

A. Yes. Those two, Alden Miller, Richard Hamilton, Richard Davis, Donald Burgess, Randall McGough, Timothy Dorsch, Charles Haynes.

Q. Who monitored the King and SCLC surveillance?

A. A number of different gentlemen, some of whom were periodically transferred.

Q. Who were some of those?

A. Donald Burgess, Richard Davis, Brian O'Shea, now deceased.

Q. Who served in a supervisory capacity before Charles Harding?

A. Henry Rouse.

Q. Where is he now?

A. I understand he retired, I do not know where he is located.

Q. What was your involvement with the Bureau's program referred to as COINTELPRO?

A. Mr. Seidel, as I endeavored to explain on May 12, your use of that particular terminology did not register with me at all.

Q. Recently testimony was given by one or more Bureau officials indicating this program began during the late 1950s and continued to a fairly recent date. Did not your reports regarding King, SCLC, or Levison include in their caption COINTELPRO?

A. It is not my recollection that they did.

Q. What about a Klan organization?

A. I did at various times handle investigations concerning individual Klan members. I did not handle the Klan as an organizational matter. It is my recollection that in reporting on the activities of an individual Klan member the character of the case would have been indicated as Ku Klux Klan - Racial Matter.

I feel compelled to apologize if I appear particularly dense as to the utilization of this phrase COINTELPRO. If it was a program operating over a period of years the only explanation I can offer at this moment is that conceivably some field offices other than Atlanta were <sup>initially</sup> involved therein. If this was the case, Atlanta may well have been included therein subsequent to my departure.

Q. (John Bailey) When the telephone surveillance was discontinued on the King residence and on SCLC who took care of that.

A. I do not know.

It should be noted the Committee took a five minute break approximately 12:05 to 12:10 p.m. *after which questioning continued.*

Following a few very general concluding comments by Seidel, the writer was given the opportunity to make a statement. At this point Seidel was advised it was the writer's understanding that the procedures of this Committee provided for a witness to subsequently have opportunity to review the transcript thereof, and that the writer would like to avail himself of this opportunity. Inquiry was made as to whether this could be accomplished via registered or certified mail to preclude unnecessary expense to the Government.

Seidel responded at some length referring to (Section 6b?) of the Committee's rules and regulations which permitted

such review in the Committee's office. Any expense thereof to be borne by the witness. He explained it was not his prerogative to amend the Committee's rules and regulations.

*assumed  
impr. since  
he was not  
asking him  
to make  
any  
changes.*

The writer apologized for asking the question and

*He* submitted that had he been furnished a copy of the Committee's rules and regulations for a period of time <sup>no</sup> longer than 29 minutes before this Committee convened, it would not have been necessary to have asked the question.

The aforementioned session terminated shortly past 1 p.m.

→ FROM P 18

*Had such been  
furnished at an  
earlier date*



1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
June 9, 1975

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

*Sensitivity - 73*  
U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WITH

1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

Reference is made to my letter dated May 22, 1975,  
forwarding a memorandum concerning an interview by a Staff  
Member of captioned Committee of retired FBI Special Agent  
Alan G. Sentinella.

Enclosed is the original of a memorandum concerning  
testimony subsequently given by Mr. Sentinella before an  
Executive Session of the Committee. A copy of the memorandum  
is also enclosed for forwarding to Mr. James A. Wilderotter,  
Associate Counsel to the President.

Enclosures - 2 *for info. only; Per J. Altizer's instructions,  
5 copies of this interview sent to OPR - Dept of Justice,  
11/22/76 JCB*  
62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

Attention: K. William O'Connor

Special Counsel for

Intelligence Coordination

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-31-80 BY SP16SK/29

1 - 67-432832 (Personnel File Former SA Alan G. Sentinella)

1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

1 - 100-392452 (Stanley David Levison)

SFP:ekw-RW

(14)

Adm.

W.

*P.U. 4569 JCB  
Rus - 4569 JCB*

REC-102

*62-116395-265*

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

GPO: 1975 O - 569-920

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

62-116395

June 9, 1975 1-Mr.W.O.Cregar

1-Mr.S.F.Phillips

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: TESTIMONY OF RETIRED FBI  
SPECIAL AGENT (SA) BEFORE  
SSC EXECUTIVE SESSION

Reference is made to the memorandum of this Bureau dated May 22, 1975, reporting a statement voluntarily furnished to the FBI by Mr. Alan G. Sentinella, a retired SA of the FBI. That statement concerned the interview of Sentinella by an SSC Staff Member on May 12, 1975.

Pursuant to a subpoena, Mr. Sentinella testified before an Executive Session of the SSC on May 21, 1975, after which he voluntarily furnished the FBI a statement concerning his testimony. Set out below is the verbatim text of that statement.

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 GSK/jca 10/31/80  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 3  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-9-95

"Alan G. Sentinella"

"May 21, 1975"

"The following represents the writer's recollection of testimony given this date before the Senate Select Committee (SSC) pursuant to subpoena. The session commenced at 10 a.m. 5/21/75 in Room 607, former Carroll Arms Hotel. Present was Senator Robert Morgan (North Carolina); Lester B. Seidel, Staff Member; Mr. Jack Smith, Staff Member; Mr. John Bailey, Assistant Minority Counsel, and a male reporter. Senator Morgan placed the writer under oath. Approximately four or five minutes later Senator Morgan excused himself with a general statement to the effect he had other pressing matters. The entire proceedings with only two exceptions were conducted by Lester B. Seidel.

- Assoc. Dir. — Staff Member; Mr. Jack Smith, Staff Member; Mr. John Bailey,
- Dep. AD Adm. — Assistant Minority Counsel, and a male reporter. Senator
- Dep. AD Inv. — Morgan placed the writer under oath. Approximately four or
- Asst. Dir.:
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- Comp. Syst. — statement to the effect he had other pressing matters. The entire
- Ext. Affairs — proceedings with only two exceptions were conducted by Lester B.
- Files & Com. — Seidel.
- Gen. Inv. —
- Ident. —
- Inspection —
- Intell. —
- Laboratory — 1 - 67-432832 (Personnel File Former SA Alan G. Sentinella)
- Plan. & Eval. — 1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
- Inv. — 1 - 100-392452 (Stanley David Levison)
- ing —
- Coun. —
- one Rm. — SFP:ekw (13)
- Sec'y — MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Seidel explained the writer was entitled to counsel, had the privilege of invoking provisions of the Fifth Amendment, and would have the privilege of making an opening and closing statement. Seidel inquired whether the writer understood his rights and the Committee's rules and regulations, a copy of which he had made available.

"The writer acknowledged receipt of the Committee's rules and regulations as furnished by Seidel at 9:31 a.m. 5/21/75. He also acknowledged he had been informed of the right to counsel but inasmuch as this Committee was not understood to constitute a grand jury and in the absence of any charges or allegations of a violation of law on his part, he did not insist on the presence of counsel.

"Seidel was advised that as a former Special Agent the writer had contacted the Bureau's Legal Counsel Division and as of this date had been advised by Mr. Paul Daly thereof that he had been cleared by the Attorney General (AG) to testify to matters relating to investigation of Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Stanley Levison.

"Seidel was advised that during his interview of the writer in Atlanta, Georgia, on 5/12/75 he had asked a question as to how long after the assassination of King did the telephone surveillance continue on the King residence. On 5/12/75 the writer responded it was his recollection this coverage continued until a short time subsequent to the assassination. Following that interview, the writer recalled that either shortly before or shortly after that case was assigned to the writer, the King family had moved from one residence to another and that continuation of the telephone surveillance from the former residence to the latter one was not authorized. Secondly, Seidel on 5/12/75 had asked when the King and SCLC cases were assigned to the writer, the writer recalled such assignment was in the early part of 1965; that it was now the writer's recollection this assignment was made in May, 1965.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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"Set forth below are questions asked by Seidel (unless otherwise indicated) and the writer's answers. These questions and answers are not set forth chronologically.

"Q. Why was continuance of the telephone surveillance not continued to the Kings' new residence?

"A. Continuance was not authorized by the AG.

"Q. What telephone surveillance was there conducted by Atlanta of Stanley Levison?

"A. There was no such coverage per se only such as afforded by contacts made of King or members of the SCLC staff by Levison.

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"A. Any contacts of King by Levison while in New York would have been covered.

"Q. Did the New York Office maintain telephone surveillance of Levison?

"A. I do not directly know.

"Q. During the Atlanta interview you indicated you had read New York reports concerning Levison. Is that correct?

"A. Yes.

"Q. During Atlanta interview you indicated you presumed these reports set forth information concerning Levison from a telephone surveillance. Is that correct?

"A. Yes.

"Q. What was the basis for your presumption?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

"A. The appropriate administrative portion of such report would have so indicated.

"Q. What evidence of CP connections did your investigation develop concerning Levison?

"A. None.

"Q. What information did you have establishing CP connection re Levison?

"A. Such information as was set forth in what was then referred to as a characterization of Levison. Such characterization was a part of each report submitted to the Bureau.

"Q. What was the nature of this characterization?

"A. I do not remember the precise language. It is my recollection the statement was brief and set forth information establishing past and/or present CP affiliation by Levison.

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"Q. What prompted you today to amend your answer on May the 12th '75 as to how long telephone surveillance continued on the King residence? Did you seek the advice or an answer from someone?

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"A. Only to the extent that subsequent to May the 12th I conferred with a former Agent, Charles Harding. Prior thereto it had concerned me, that my initial answer to that question for some reason did not impress me as being completely correct. I mentioned this to Harding and he informed me that my answer was incorrect and mentioned the change in the King residence and the fact coverage had not been thereafter authorized. When he informed me of this I immediately recalled the change in residence which previously had escaped my memory.

"Q. Why would Harding know this information?

"A. For a period of time he was in a supervisory capacity.

"Q. Was he in a supervisory capacity when the change in residence was made?

"A. He was in a relief supervisory capacity at that time.

"Q. Why did you rely on Harding's recollection? Is his recollection better than yours?

"A. I am not suggesting his recollection is better or worse than mine. What he said to me merely served to jog my memory upon which I based my earlier statement today.

"Q. You recall when I interviewed you in Atlanta most of my questions were taken from prepared notes?

"A. Yes.

"Q. You recall that I told you that I would make notes during the interview in order that I might later refresh my recollection as to your testimony?

"A. Yes, and Mr. Seidel, you recall that I did not take any notes (to which he answered in the affirmative).

"Q. Did you make any recording of that interview at the time?

"A. I did not.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC - -

"Q. Did you make any subsequent written recording of the interview?

"A. Yes, I did so for my personal information.

"Q. Is such writing available to this Committee?

"A. I consider it a personal item for my personal use. I realize that you have the prerogative of subpoenaing it. In the absence thereof, I prefer not to make it available.

"Q. How long after King's assassination did the telephone surveillance of SCLC continue?

"A. I cannot be certain. It continued for a period of time which may have been one, two, possibly three months. I simply do not remember.

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"A. Richard Hamilton.

"Q. When did he assume these cases?


"A. I cannot recall precisely. I am not even sure whether they had been administratively reassigned to him prior to my departure.

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"Q. Hunter Pitts O'Dell, the same as Jack O'Dell?

"A. Yes, he was.

"Q. What evidence of CP connections or domination by Moscow of O'Dell, Rustin, Wachtel, did your investigation develop? 

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"A. It did not develop any such information.

"Q. How did you know of what their CP affiliation may have been?

"A. In the same manner as in regard to Levison.

"Q. What investigation did Atlanta conduct of O'Bell, Rustin, and Wachtel?

"A. There was no active ongoing investigation conducted of these individuals other than during such periods when they were in contact with King or members of SCLC.

"Q. Was Coretta King ever the target of an electronic surveillance?

"A. Not to my knowledge beyond such coverage as might have occurred from the telephone surveillance when it applied to the King residence or on such occasions when she might have been present in SCLC headquarters.

"Q. Do you know when the telephone surveillance of King and SCLC were initiated?

"A. I did not have the cases at that time.

"Q. Did you not learn of such information while you had these cases?

"A. Yes.

"Q. How?

"A. From information in the appropriate file.

"Q. What communication transpired between the Bureau and Atlanta relative to the initiation of these telephone surveillances, airtels, letters, memoranda?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"A. I am certain there were airtels, letters, possibly teletypes in the file.

"Q. What was the gist of such communications?

"A. Advisement that such installation had been authorized, instructions to initiate the coverage.

"Q. Who installed the surveillances, Al Miller; was he not a technician, a wireman?

"A. Your answer to that question is not entirely correct. Alden Miller was an Atlanta Agent who had certain technical ability. It is my recollection the surveillance was installed by an Agent who was not from the Atlanta Office. I do not remember his name.

"Q. Did you monitor any of these surveillances?

"A. No.

"Q. Did you monitor any such surveillance during this period of time?

"A. Yes. I recall on two occasions filling in for another employee in connection with telephone surveillance of the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I did not monitor the King or SNCC telephone surveillance.

"Q. What was the nature of the investigation of SNCC?

"A. To determine communist influence of that organization.

"Q. What is your recollection of the Bureau's efforts to influence any political campaign?

"A. I have no such recollection.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

-RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Q. What about efforts to disrupt the political campaign of Senator Andrew Young?

"A. I do not know of any such efforts. It's my recollection that Andrew Young did not become actively involved in politics during the period of time with which we are concerned.

"Q. What about Julian Bond's campaign? Any effort to influence that?

"A. No. As I recall Bond was already a member of the Georgia legislature by 1964 or 1965.

"Q. What electronic surveillance was conducted of Bond?

"A. None to my knowledge beyond such coverage as may have resulted from coverage of SNCC with which Bond was affiliated.

"Q. In same manner a question was asked re other members of the Georgia legislature. My answer was that my only concern had been with former Governor Lester Maddox and my handling of the Civil Rights Act of 1964(?) case involving Maddox and his operation of the Pickrick restaurant.

"Q. Did a former Bureau official William Sullivan visit Atlanta during this period?

"A. There were two Sullivans in an official capacity with the Bureau.

"Q. William Sullivan, who was formerly connected with intelligence matters at the Bureau. Did you ever meet him?

"A. Yes. I met him on several occasions during the 1950s. I do not recall any contact with him during the period with which we are presently concerned.

"Q. After you received the King, SCLC, and Levison cases, what did Mr. Bob Nichols do?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

-RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"A. Shortly thereafter he was transferred as a Resident Agent to Valdosta, Georgia.

"Q. Was King given a nickname in the Atlanta Office?

"A. Yes.

"Q. What was it?

"A. "Zorro."

"Q. How did that come about?

"A. I believe that began with Mr. Nichols and just passed on down.

"Q. Why was that name selected?

"A. I do not know precisely.

"Q. Don't you have any idea?

"A. Yes.

"Q. What was the basis for it?

"A. As I remember, "Zorro" was either a television or movie character who carried a sword and therefore could be referred to as a swordsman.

"Q. What connection had this with King?

"A. The Reverend King participated in a number of extra-marital relations and therefore it seemed fitting that in the vernacular the reference swordsman applied to him.

"Q. What extra-marital activities were there?

"A. There were several women involved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Q. How do you know this?

"A. It was indicated on occasions by conversations.

"Q. How?

"A. By reference to a previous escapade with an individual or to one pending.

"Q. Can you give an example of such reference?

"A. There is only one particular conversation that comes to mind at the moment and I have no recollection with whom the conversation was held; during which reference was made to a wonderful sermon they had preached together on somebody's kitchen floor.

"Q. Kitchen floor?

"A. Yes.

"Q. What surreptitious entry was made in respect to the King residence or SCLC headquarters?

"A. During the period I was concerned with these cases there was none.

"Q. Supposing an Agent wanted some item from either location to use against King or SCLC. Would he not have made a surreptitious entry to obtain it?

"A. No such entry was made at any time to my knowledge. I say this very firmly because the Bureau policy before the late 1950s concerning such a technique had changed.

"Q. (By Jack Smith) What do you mean by saying this policy had changed?

"A. During my period with the Bureau, from the beginning, such activity had to be approved by the Bureau. With reference to the period of time when the policy changed, it changed to the extent that obtaining authority therefore was virtually impossible.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC -

"Q. Prior to 1965 in what way were you involved in any surreptitious entry?

"A. Mr. Seidel, as I stated earlier I have been informed that I was released by the AG to testify before this Committee concerning King, SCLC, Stanley Levison, and matters related thereto.

"Q. Did you develop any information establishing CP connection on the part of King?

"A. Not beyond his affiliation with Levison and the other individuals previously mentioned.

"Q. What was the objective of the investigation of King and SCLC?

"A. To determine possible communist influence of King and SCLC.

"Q. If, as you state, you did not develop information that King was a communist, was not this investigation in vain?

"A. Not in my opinion. It is correct it did not establish that King was a CP member. It did establish that he was in contact with individuals then having past or present CP affiliation which was the objective of the investigation.

"I cannot be certain - I may have briefly indicated here that it did not appear King was necessarily aware of the past or present CP connections of these persons.

"Q. Do you remember during 1963 King alleged that Bureau Agents were not responsive to civil rights complaints in the vicinity of Albany, Georgia, and other South Georgia locations?

"A. Yes, I recall news media information concerning such allegations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Q. In response to these allegations by King, do you remember that Mr. Hoover became very concerned with King's allegations?

"A. Yes. I definitely remember the news media indicating that Mr. Hoover was extremely upset.

"Q. You have stated you were assigned to King and SCLC case in May, 1965, is that correct?

"A. Yes.

"Q. You previously stated these cases were initiated 12 months or perhaps a little longer prior to your receiving them. Is that correct?

"A. Yes.

"Q. Was there not then a connection between Director Hoover's concern with King's statements in 1963 regarding lack of attention to civil rights matters in South Georgia by the Bureau and the initiation of the investigation of King and SCLC?

"A. I did not discuss that matter with Mr. Hoover or with any Bureau official.

"Q. Do you deny there was any such connection?

"A. I cannot deny that there might have been such a connection. This was a situation in which I recall the news media on more than one occasion suggested such to be the case.

"Q. From 1965 until 1971 was there any electronic surveillance of any other individual or organization in addition to King, SCLC, and SNCC?

"A. To the best of my recollection there were none except as may have pertained to some strictly criminal investigations with which I had no connection.



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Q. What about prior to 1965?

"A. There was one concerning an individual or individuals having Klan connections believed to have been involved in an earlier church bombing, I believe in Birmingham, involving the death of several children.

"Q. During our interview in Atlanta you stated you did not have any contact with members of the news media or clergy regarding King or SCLC. Is that correct?

"A. Yes. I did not have any such contact.

"Q. What discussion was had with members of the Atlanta Police Department concerning King, SCLC, and Levison, and what was the extent of their electronic coverage regarding these matters?

"A. During the period of time I was concerned with King, SCLC, Levison, I had no discussion with any member of the Atlanta Police Department concerning these matters. Bureau instructions regarding these matters were that any discussion was on a strictly need-to-know basis and I have absolutely no recollection that members of the Atlanta Police Department fitted into this category. I do not have any knowledge as to what electronic surveillance may ever have been conducted by the Atlanta Police Department.

"Q. While in Atlanta you were assigned to what was referred to as the Security and Racial Squad, is that correct?

"A. That is correct.

"Q. Essentially this squad was concerned with security matters, racial matters, is that correct?

"A. Yes and it was also concerned with civil rights violations and election law violations.

"Q. In regard to civil rights and election law matters, did you ever develop any information pertinent to the CP?

*W. H. [unclear]*

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC - -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"A. No.

"Q. What Agents do you remember were assigned to that squad?  
Charles Harding, Arthur Murtagh?

"A. Yes. Those two, Alden Miller, Richard Hamilton, Richard Davis, Donald Burgess, Randall McGough, Timothy Dorsch, Charles Haynes.

"Q. Who monitored the King and SCLC surveillance?

"A. A number of different gentlemen, some of whom were periodically transferred.

"Q. Who were some of those?

"A. Donald Burgess, Richard Davis, Brian O'Shea, now deceased.

"Q. Who served in a supervisory capacity before Charles Harding?

"A. Henry Rouse.

"Q. Where is he now?

"A. I understand he retired, I do not know where he is located.

"Q. What was your involvement with the Bureau's program referred to as COINTELPRO?

"A. Mr. Seidel, as I endeavored to explain on May 12, your use of that particular terminology did not register with me at all.

"Q. Recently testimony was given by one or more Bureau officials indicating this program began during the late 1950s and continued to a fairly recent date. Did not your reports regarding King, SCLC, or Levison include in their caption COINTELPRO?

"A. It is not my recollection that they did.

"Q. What about a Klan organization?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC-

"A. I did at various times handle investigations concerning individual Klan members. I did not handle the Klan as an organizational matter. It is my recollection that in reporting on the activities of an individual Klan member the character of the case would have been indicated as Ku Klux Klan - Racial Matter.

"I feel compelled to apologize if I appear particularly dense as to the utilization of this phrase COMINTLPRO. If it was a program operating over a period of years the only explanation I can offer at this moment is that conceivably some field offices other than Atlanta were initially involved therein. If this was the case, Atlanta may well have been included therein subsequent to my departure.

"Q. (John Bailey) When the telephone surveillance was discontinued on the King residence and on SCLE who took care of that.

"A. I do not know.

"Following a few very general concluding comments by Seidel, the writer was given the opportunity to make a statement. At this point Seidel was advised it was the writer's understanding that the procedures of this Committee provided for a witness to subsequently have opportunity to review the transcript thereof, and that the writer would like to avail himself of this opportunity. Inquiry was made as to whether this could be accomplished via registered or certified mail to preclude unnecessary expense to the Government.

"Seidel responded at some length referring to (Section 6b?) of the Committee's rules and regulations which permitted such review in the Committee's office. Any expense thereof to be borne by the witness. He explained it was not his prerogative to amend the Committee's rules and regulations.

"The writer apologized for asking the question and assured Mr. Seidel he was not asking him to make any changes.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF RETIRED FBI SA BY SSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He submitted that had he been furnished a copy of the Committee's rules and regulations for a period of time no longer than 29 minutes before this Committee convened. Had such been furnished at an earlier date it would not have been necessary to have asked the question.

"The aforementioned session terminated shortly past 1 p.m.

"It should be noted the Committee took a five minute break approximately 12:05 to 12:10 p.m. after which questioning continued."

On June 4, 1975, Sentinella advised the FBI of the following additional information concerning this matter.

Sentinella received a telephone call that day from Seidel who advised him that the transcript of Sentinella's testimony was near completion and that Sentinella would receive a letter advising him it was ready for Sentinella's review, but only in SSC space.

Seidel sought from Sentinella and was furnished names of some FBI personnel who had monitored technical surveillance on King during the pertinent period. Seidel sought information concerning who supervised the King investigation at FBI Headquarters, to which Sentinella replied that he did not know any specifics. Seidel referred back to information from Sentinella both during the original interview and during Sentinella's testimony and Seidel asked why Sentinella had discussed the matter with former FBI Agent Harding. It was Sentinella's reply that he sought Harding's help in order to rectify what he thought was a wrong answer given to Seidel during the initial interview.

1 - The Attorney General

NOTE: Original and one copy to the AG, copy for forwarding to James A. Wilderotter, Associate Counsel to the President. Information herein taken from Sentintella's verbatim statement which he voluntarily mailed to S. F. Phillips of the Senstudy 75 Project. The additional information Sentinella furnished 6/4/75 was telephoned by him to Phillips. On that occasion Sentinella also advised that Seidel had inquired of him that day as to whether he had discussed with Phillips the King case after arriving in Washington, D.C., and prior to testifying. Sentinella stated that he had not.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE  
BEFORE COMPLETING.TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central IndexFROM:  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available  
for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

6/13/75

☒ DOCUMENT ☐ BRIEFING ☐ INTERVIEW ☐ TESTIMONY ☐ OTHER

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

☒ SSC☐ HSC4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer,  
interviewee, testifier and subject)Documents Pertaining to the Huston Plan, Cointelpro and other  
Practices and Programs5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, other-  
wise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

SSC letter 5/14/74, Appendix C, Part I, Item 7, 8.

6. CLASSIFICATION OF  
INFORMATION (enter  
U, C, S, TS or  
Codeword)

"S"

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are  
used underline for emphasis)LIAISON

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

With CIA concurrence, SSC was furnished with copies of  
documents maintained by the Bureau relating to the disappearance  
of Associate Professor Thomas Riha, University of Colorado, with  
the resultant temporary discontinuance of formal liaison between  
the FBI and the CIA.

NOTE:

Original via Liaison to Central Community  
Index in connection with Senstudy 75.  
6-24-75 LFS

TREAT AS YELLOW

TJM:1hb  
(4) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/9/2000 BY SP-1/KMF

62-116395

3791 (6-75)



## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

☐ LTR ☒ LHM ☐ Memo ☐ Report dated 6/13/75  
U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE. RE: DOCUMENTS  
Caption of Document: PERTAINING TO THE HUSTON PLAN,  
COINTELPRO, AND OTHER PRACTICES  
AND PROGRAMS  
HUSTON PLAN AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS  
Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: Richard T. Taylor, Jr. Date: 8/5/75 <sup>31</sup>

Received by: McKeehan

Title: Exec. Sec.

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

Appendix C  
Part I, #7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/00 BY SP2 Alm/lmf  
MOR-16

ITEM I.

(Additional questions)

Q:

What about JULIAN BOND's campaign? Any effort to influence that?

A:

No. As I recall Bond was already a member of the Georgia legislature by 1964 or 1965.

Q:

What electronic surveillance was conducted of Bond?

A:

None to my knowledge beyond such coverage of ~~SNCC of which Bond~~ ~~organization~~ as may have resulted from coverage of SNCC with which Bond was affiliated.

Q:

[In some manner a question was asked re other members of the Georgia legislature. My answer was that my only concern was with former Governor

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/16/00 BY 3025 RJS/umf  
FMR-16



(2)

Lester Maddox and my  
handling of the Civil  
Rights Act of 1964(?)  
Case involving Maddox  
and his operation of  
the PICKRICK restaurant].

ITEM II

Re page 5, first Q. and A. set  
forth.

It seems this is where  
Lidd asked a question con-  
cerning other source (other  
than electronic) material re  
Levinson. However, he went on  
talking and never actually  
posed a question as such;  
accordingly it was not  
answered.

O R

the above may have been  
related to the last Q.  
appearing at bottom of  
page 7.

(3)

ITEM III.

I cannot be certain — I may have briefly indicated here that it did not appear King was necessarily aware of the past or present C.P. connections of these persons.

ITEM IV.

Re page 14 and the answer you inquired about.

I'm sure my answer was as it now appears on page 14, i.e. corrected.

I did not say there was no connection. I'm sure I only introduced the negative when he asked if I would deny there was such connection.

I believe "yes" may have come in here in answering a question raised by your steno.



2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar

62-116395

June 13, 1975

1 - Mr. R. L. Moore

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC)  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

RE: DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE HUSTON  
PLAN, COINTELPRO, AND OTHER PRACTICES  
AND PROGRAMS

HUSTON PLAN AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS

Reference is made to SSC letter dated May 14,  
1975, with attached appendices, requesting certain  
documents and other information from the FBI.

Appendix C, Part I, Item number 7, requested  
all memoranda and other materials relating to the 1969  
disappearance of Associate Professor Thomas Riha,  
University of Colorado, insofar as such memoranda and  
materials related to: (a) efforts of the FBI to ascertain  
the identity of confidential sources of the Central  
Intelligence Agency; and (b) inspections and administrative  
inquiries relating to the disclosure of information to  
Dr. Joseph R. Smiley, then President of the University of  
Colorado. Item number 8, requested all memoranda and  
other materials relating to actions by the Director or  
any other official of the FBI severing liaison (formal,  
informal, or other) or terminating contact (formal, informal,  
or other) between personnel of the FBI and personnel of  
the Central Intelligence Agency. Pursuant to these requests  
there are enclosed copies of 13 FBI communications.

In connection with your request for memoranda  
pertaining to inspections and administrative inquiries  
relating to the disclosure of information to Dr. Joseph R.  
Smiley, a search of the files of the FBI at Washington, D. C.,  
and Denver, Colorado, does not indicate that any such  
inspections or administrative inquiries took place.

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO & THREE

(8) This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

RE: DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE HUSTON  
PLAN, COINTELPRO, AND OTHER PRACTICES  
AND PROGRAMS

HUSTON PLAN AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS

With reference to the information furnished by Dr. Joseph R. Smiley contained in the communication from the Special Agent in Charge, El Paso, to the Director of the FBI, dated May 8, 1970, your specific attention is directed to the restrictions placed by Dr. Smiley on the information furnished by him. On June 4, 1975, Dr. Smiley was recontacted, at which time he advised that under no circumstances would he testify in public to the information which he originally furnished to the FBI on a confidential basis. He further advised that under no circumstances would he reveal the identity of his contact in the Central Intelligence Agency referred to in the May 8, 1970, communication. He agreed to the release of the information in the May 8, 1970, communication to the SSC on a strictly confidential basis, for its use only and not for any further dissemination. Dr. Smiley stated he has no information other than that in the May 8, 1970, communication.

Enclosures (13)

1 - The Attorney General

NOTE:

Concurrence to pass the 2/26/70 letter, with Secret enclosures, from Richard Helms, then Director of CIA, to J. Edgar Hoover, then Director of FBI, was obtained by Liaison Officer Leon F. Schwartz from Walter Elder, CIA on 6/10/75. The response to requests set forth in Appendix C, Part I, Item numbers 7 and 8 is being made in the same communication to avoid unnecessary duplication since the severing of liaison with CIA grew out of the RIHA matter.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE THREE

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

RE: DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE HUSTON  
PLAN, COINTELPRO, AND OTHER PRACTICES  
AND PROGRAMS

HUSTON PLAN AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS

NOTE CONTINUED:

A. W. Gray memorandum to W. C. Sullivan, 5/6/70, states "our files show CIA gave Riha a short briefing prior to his entry into USSR in 1958." This information only appears on the cover page of the report of SA Daniel J. Griffin, dated, 8/31/60 at Boston. The information was furnished by Riha during interview on 8/11/60 and has never been given to us by CIA.

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

The Attorney General

June 13, 1975

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. R. L. Moore

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

By letter dated May 14, 1975, with attached appendices, the SSC requested certain information and documents from the FBI.

Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the Committee are the original of a memorandum and enclosures which serve as a response to two of the SSC requests.

A copy of the memorandum with enclosures is being furnished for your records.

Enclosures (28)

62-116395

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: K. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

RLM:mam  
(9) wcm

PLM

REC-102

17 JUN 25 1975

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED



CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE

NOTE: SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE  
BEFORE COMPLETING.TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central IndexFROM:  
FBI

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available  
for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

6/9/75

DOCUMENT

BRIEFING

INTERVIEW

☒

TESTIMONY

OTHER

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC

Provided to Attorney General with copy for  
forwarding to the White House.

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer,  
interviewee, testifier and subject)Memorandum reporting testimony given by former FBI Special Agent  
Alan G. Sentinella before an Executive Session of the SSC.5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, other-  
wise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

NA

6. CLASSIFICATION OF  
INFORMATION (enter  
U, C, S, TS or  
Codeword)

U

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are  
used underline for emphasis)

Intelligence activities, domestic

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Testimony covered former FBI investigation of:

- 1) Martin Luther King, Jr.
- 2) Stanley David Levison
- 3) Southern Christian Leadership Conference

TREAT AS YELLOW

SFP:1hb  
(4)ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX IN  
CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75.

62-116395

6-24-75 LFS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

3791

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE

DATE 11/6/2000

BY SP8

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- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
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SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

~~EC~~

~~EC~~

~~EC~~

R. Prong

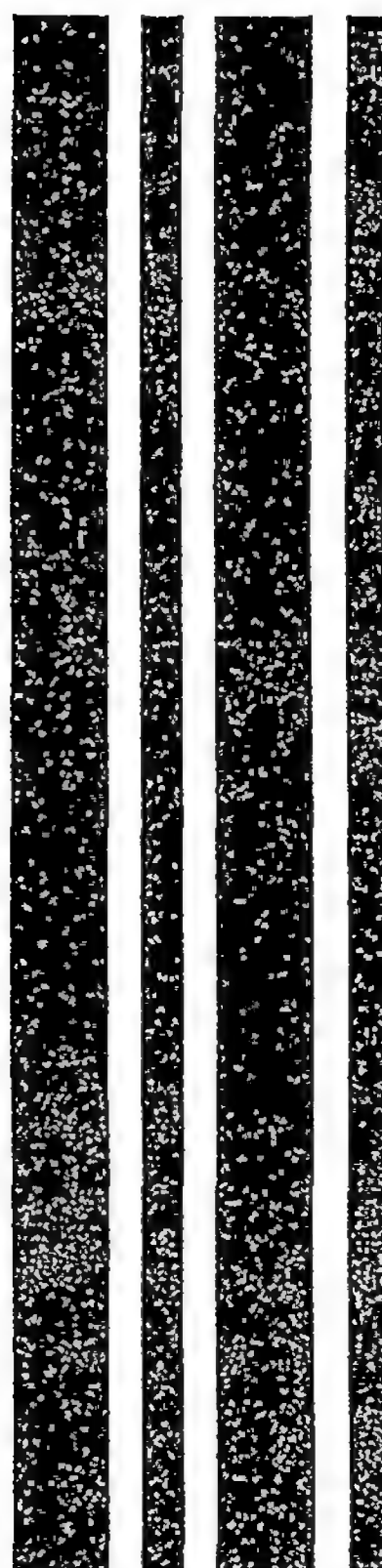
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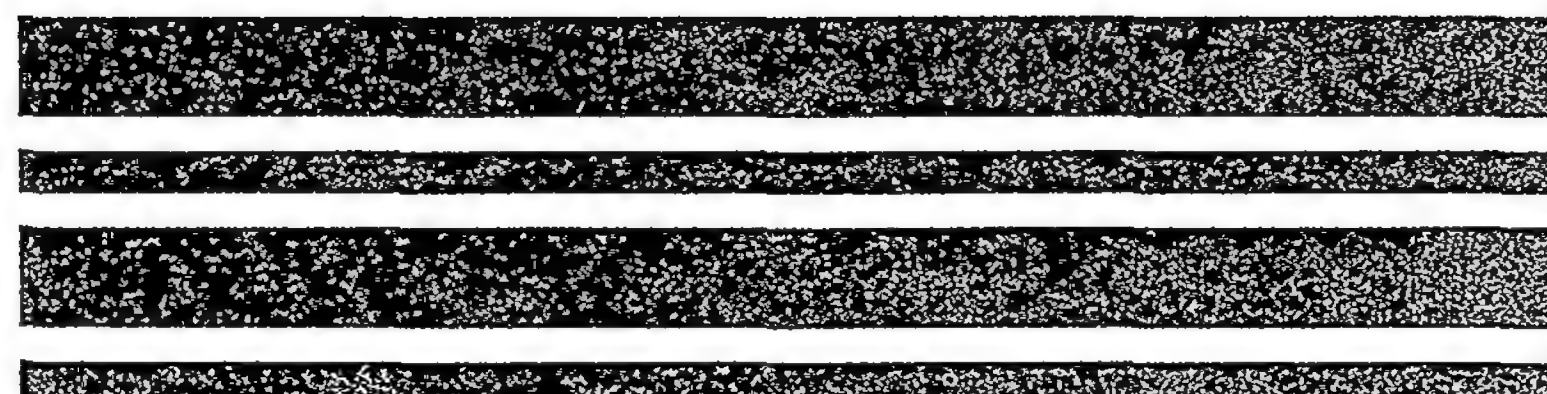
XC ~~EC~~

~~EC~~

Patch III



Assembly







UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, F.B.I.

February 12, 1970

SAC, DENVER

THOMAS RIHA

JEK Act 6 (1) (A)

On the late afternoon of February 10, 1970, I was called by MIKE TODOROVICH, who is in charge of the CIA office here in Denver. TODOROVICH stated he has instructions from his Washington Office to contact Denver District Attorney JAMES MC KEVITT and tell MC KEVITT that CIA Agent [redacted] who is stationed in Boulder, Colorado, had told Dr. JOSEPH SMILEY, former President of the University of Colorado, that FRITZ had been told that THOMAS RIHA's disappearance was merely a marital matter and that RIHA was, in fact, all right. TODOROVICH then told me that [redacted] got this information from an FBI Agent in Boulder.

I told TODOROVICH to give me the name of the FBI Agent and he stated he would not do so. He then stated the FBI Agent told him, TODOROVICH the same thing. I again requested the name of the Agent. He again declined to give it to me. I very emphatically told TODOROVICH that until he gave me the name of the Agent who supposedly gave him and [redacted] this information, that I would not believe that either he or [redacted] had been given any information such as this by any Agent of this Bureau and this was based on the fact that no Agent would have any reason whatsoever to make such a statement since we had not conducted any investigation in this matter nor did we have any information concerning RIHA and, therefore, we would not be in a position to make such a statement as to whether or not RIHA was all right.

I then also pointed out to Mr. TODOROVICH that if he gave the information to Mr. MC KEVITT and advised Mr. MC KEVITT the information had come from an FBI Agent and if Mr. MC KEVITT contacted me I would certainly advise him that the information did not come from anyone in the FBI for the same reasons as set forth above.

I am enclosing, for the Bureau's information, an article which appeared in the February 11, 1970, issue of The Rocky Mountain News, a Denver newspaper. The article is captioned "Boulder housewife surp she talked to Riha."

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Towards the end of the article it reports that MC KEVITT had received an official denial from "a Washington source" that any of the official agencies which have been named in connection with the RIHA case actually had any knowledge of where RIHA is now. The source, according to the article which MC KEVITT refused to identify, also said RIHA was not involved in espionage of any sort and that none of these agencies have ever told anyone in Boulder, Denver, or elsewhere that RIHA was alive and well.

The article points out the most frequently mentioned agencies have been the FBI, CIA, Military Intelligence agencies and the U. S. INS.

Also enclosed is an article which appeared in the Rocky Mountain News for February 12, 1970. This article is captioned "Riha case investigators' theories might be altered."

For the information of the Bureau, we only have two resident agents in Boulder, Colorado, and I have personally contacted each of them and each has assured me both verbally and by memorandum that they have not made such statements as were attributed to them by TODOROVICH. Not only that, neither of the two has ever had any contact personally or otherwise with JFK Act 6 (1) (A) the CIA representative in Boulder.

This information is being forwarded to the Bureau only for information in view of CIA's actions in connection with this matter.

1. Protest to CIA re Todorovich's actions
  2. Commends SAC re his handling of Todorovich.
- JH



JFK Act 6 (1) (A)

JFK Act 6 (1) (A)

Following is typewritten clarification of the handwritten comment of J. Edgar Hoover on the attached document:

"I don't. I still want name of our agt which  
JFK Act 6 (1) (A) gave to Dr. Emily. H"



# Memorandum

DATE: 2-18-70

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

On 2-17-70, Liaison Agent Papich vigorously protested Todorovich's actions to CIA, charging the Agency with impeding our inquiry. He pointed out that Todorovich's stubborn refusal to divulge the identity of the Bureau Agent involved was unacceptable because we had no information to support the statement attributed to our Agent. As a result of Papich's protest, a CIA official telephoned Todorovich and demanded that he divulge the identity of the Agent. Todorovich refused and stated that he considered this a matter of personal honor and that unless there was reason to believe Bureau operations were being adversely effected, he would not make the identification. CIA officials subsequently advised the Liaison Agent that they had reviewed the entire case and learned that District Attorney/McKevitt publicly stated on 2-14-70 that the statement attributed to Dr. Smiley (which allegedly came to him via Todorovich from our Agent) was based on an "honest mistake" and that McKevitt felt this cleared the air and no further clarification was needed.

**ACTION:**

None. For information.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2-20-70

FROM : D. J. Brennan

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Reference is made to memorandum dated 2-18-70 from D. J. Brennan to Sullivan. The Director stated that he wants the name of the FBI Agent who had furnished certain information to Mike Todorovich, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) representative, Denver. The Liaison Agent met with Richard Helms, Director, CIA, on 2-20-70, repeating the background of this matter and reiterated the protest made earlier by the Bureau and asked that CIA obtain the identity of the FBI Agent.

Helms advised that he considered this a most serious development and fully recognizes the gravity of the situation since it has such a significant bearing on relations between the two agencies and the highly important work of both organizations. He stated that he does not have the identity of the FBI Agent and so far Todorovich has refused to disclose same. Helms advised that he is requesting Todorovich to proceed to Washington, D. C., immediately at which time he will be interviewed in detail by Helms. In the meantime, the CIA Director is requesting his subordinates to prepare for him a complete report covering all information in possession of CIA regarding the subject. He stated that he will communicate with the Bureau immediately after talking to Todorovich. He stated that it was absolutely necessary that he make certain that he has all the relevant facts so that he can accurately respond to the Director and take the proper and necessary administrative action within his own organization.

ACTION:

For information.

*I shall await records*  
*H*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 25, 1970

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On February 24, 1970, James Angleton, CIA, advised the Liaison Agent that Richard Helms had instructed him to transmit the following message to the Director.

Pursuant to instructions from Helms, Mike Todorovich, CIA representative in Denver, arrived in Washington, D. C., on February 24, 1970, and Helms initiated his interview. Helms expects to complete the interview including an examination of various CIA records within two days, upon the completion of which he will be transmitting a personal letter to the Director.

## ACTION:

For information.



Following are typewritten clarifications of the handwritten comments of J. Edgar Hoover on the attached document:

Page 2, left margin - "Werner acted properly. H"

Page 2, bottom of page - "I do not agree. Todorovich violated the third agency rule & refused to identify the alleged FBI agent who was the source of the information. H"

Page 3, end of 3rd paragraph - "Helms forgets it is a two way street. H"

Page 3, bottom of page - "This is not satisfactory. I want our Denver Office to have absolutely no contacts with CIA. I want direct liaison here with CIA to be terminated & any contact with CIA in the future to be by letter only. H"

~~SECRET~~



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

26 February 1970

Personal and Confidential

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Mr. Papich has orally informed me that you wish to have the identity of the FBI agent who was the source of certain information communicated to an employee of this Agency, Mr. Michael Todorovich. This information regarding the disappearance of one Thomas Riha was in turn passed to Dr. Joseph Smiley, then President of Colorado University, Boulder, Colorado, now President of a university in El Paso, Texas, and to the District Attorney of Denver, Mr. James McKeivitt. In view of your personal interest in this matter, I instructed Mr. Todorovich to report to me in person.

I have reviewed this complicated case in detail with Mr. Todorovich and have requested him to reveal the identity of his source. As a point of honor and personal integrity, Mr. Todorovich was adamant that he could not disclose the identity of his source. Under further pressure from me, Mr. Todorovich maintained his position, stating that in defense of it he was prepared to submit his resignation immediately.

Mr. Todorovich explained that the Riha/Galya Tannenbaum cases had been given extensive news coverage, much of it being sensational in nature. He stressed that there was embarrassing public speculation as to the possible involvement of the CIA and the FBI in Riha's disappearance.

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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The purpose of Mr. Todorovich's conference with the District Attorney of Denver was to solicit his good offices to remove pressures and the possible serving of a subpoena on Dr. Joseph Smiley. He also sought to orient the District Attorney properly so that he would not continue to have an erroneous impression of the roles of the CIA and the FBI, thereby eliminating further adverse publicity.

Mr. Todorovich affirms that before going to District Attorney McKevitt he called upon the FBI Special Agent in Charge, Mr. Scott Werner, and sought to coordinate with him our respective interests. He also solicited Mr. Werner to accompany him to the District Attorney.

Mr. Todorovich states that Mr. Werner refused absolutely to cooperate in this matter. Instead, Mr. Werner engaged in an oral exchange during which he remarked that our representative in Boulder was "lying" and then proceeded to challenge the veracity of Mr. Todorovich. Subsequently, Mr. Todorovich conferred with the District Attorney alone. He was successful in persuading the District Attorney to make a favorable public statement which had the effect of putting this issue regarding Dr. Smiley and other rumors to rest as far as the public was concerned.

I have carefully reviewed the statements of Mr. Todorovich. I feel that poor judgment was employed in passing the information in question to Dr. Smiley and later to the District Attorney. This should only have been done with specific FBI approval. I wish to assure you that I do not condone violations of the third agency rule, and I am taking steps to impress once again this elementary fact upon all Agency officials.

With regard to Mr. Todorovich, I have no reason to doubt that he has acted honestly. I believe that he has reported to me in good faith. He is sincerely interested in preserving a sound working relationship between the CIA and the FBI. Nevertheless, because a situation of this sort adversely affects the relationship between the two agencies, I am taking administrative action in this matter with regard to Mr. Todorovich.

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~~SECRET~~

While the following is not pertinent to your request, my review of this case suggests the advisability of a re-examination of Riha's disappearance and past activities and, necessarily, the Tannenbaum case. Briefly, since 1958 we have communicated to your Bureau significant information which relates to Riha's involvement with Czech and Soviet intelligence services, when he was behind the Iron Curtain. I attach for your information and convenience copies of pertinent reports regarding this aspect of the case.

I hope sincerely that this recent incident will not impair our mutual efforts in making certain that we have not overlooked factors possibly having a significant bearing on U.S. intelligence and internal security interests. I shall pursue this matter through our respective liaison offices.

In closing, Mr. Hoover, I wish to state that this Agency can only fully perform its duties in the furtherance of the national security when it has the closest coordination and teamwork with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Furthermore, it is necessary that we continue to conduct our business in an atmosphere of mutual respect. I trust that we can coordinate closely any future developments or actions in these cases, in order to prevent the airing in public of conflicts or differences between the two agencies. I feel strongly that there are representatives of the news media who are eager to exploit alleged differences on a national scale. Disturbing as this experience has been, I wish to thank you in the interests of our common cause for having communicated with me in such a forthright and candid manner.

Sincerely,

*Richard Helms*

Richard Helms  
Director

Attachments - a/s

*This is not satisfactory. I want our Denver Office to have absolutely no contact with CIA. I want direct liaison here with CIA to be terminated if any contact with CIA is in the future to be terminated and.*

3

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

ATTACHMENT

SUBJECT: ~~RIHA~~, Thomas

1. The January 1970 receipt of information from your Bureau that Mrs. Ruth Ann COOK, Thomas RIHA's mother, had mentioned rumors of her son's work for CIA in letters to the SAC, Denver, caused us to verify the fact RIHA has never been employed or used operationally by this Agency.

2. In 1958 and 1959 you were provided information that RIHA, when transitting Prague en route to Moscow, was contacted by Czech Intelligence and asked to remain in the CSR. Later in 1958 Czech Intelligence introduced RIHA to the KGB in Moscow and our source reported RIHA accepted certain privileges from the KGB while asserting he would not become a spy for the Soviets. Details reported by our source about RIHA's KGB contacts did not emerge during a 1960 FBI interview of RIHA.

3. This indication that RIHA may not have been truthful in 1960, when added to our current knowledge about KGB interest in recruiting American exchange students and RIHA's 1968 trip to the USSR, suggests the circumstances of RIHA's disappearance might be re-evaluated. This Agency is reopening its file on this case in view of the information disclosed in the attachments.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

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COPY

27 October 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director, Office of Security  
Department of State

SUBJECT : RIHA, Thomas

1. The following report concerning an attempt by a member of Czech Intelligence to effect the repatriation of Subject, a naturalized American East-West Exchange student, to his country of origin was recently submitted by a source of this office.

2. Source first became acquainted with Subject during the past year at The Russian Research Center, Harvard University. On 10 September 1958 he ran into Subject by chance at the SAS office in Vienna as the two boarded a SAS flight to Copenhagen via Duesseldorf. During the trip Subject disclosed the following to source which has been supplemented from information from our files.

3. RIHA, who was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia 17 April 1929, is one of the twenty American students selected for the East-West Exchange Program and will be studying in the USSR for the 1958-59 academic year. Files in this Agency indicate that RIHA arrived in the U. S. on 15 July 1947 and became a citizen in 1952.

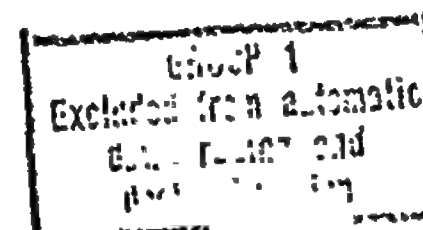
4. Our source informed us that RIHA had gone to Prague, June of this year, to see his father and other relatives. His father and mother are divorced and according to information in our files, his mother is listed as Mrs. Ruth A. COOK. address: 2023 Etna Street, Berkeley 4, California.

5. RIHA told our source that when he arrived in Prague he was put into a Government hotel for three days before he was allowed to stay with his relatives and friends. During this time, and perhaps later, RIHA was accompanied through the city by a guide whom he described as a "Government Official" name unknown, who attempted to effect Subject's repatriation to Czechoslovakia. RIHA told our source that this man has set up an appointment (date and address unknown) to meet him in Moscow to talk further.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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6. Subject told our source that this "Government Official" did not mention Czech Intelligence or Security Forces as such and that he (RIHA) is not too worried concerning this contact. RIHA apparently feels that it is the price he must pay in order to study in the Soviet Union and once he gets deeply into his studies in Moscow he feels that he can plead that he is too busy with his academic work to have contact with any officials. Our source also stated that RIHA is in some kind of correspondence with the Czech official. We have no description or name for the Czech official.

7. It is requested that no further dissemination be made of this information without prior clearance from this office, and that our source be fully protected in the event that contact is made with RIHA.

FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR, PLANS

Approved: James H. ...

JAMES ANGLETON

CS CI 3/751,690

cc: Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

COPY

21 April 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT : RIHA, Thomas

1. Reference is made to our CS CI 3/751,690 of 27 October 1958 concerning an attempt by a member of Czech Intelligence to effect Subject's repatriation while the latter was in Prague in June of 1958 visiting relatives en route to study in Moscow during 1958-59 as an East-West Exchange Student. The following report describes further action taken by the KGB in Moscow to cultivate Subject, and was recently submitted by a sensitive and reliable source.

2. Sometime in December 1958, Subject again met the Czech Official who had tried to have Subject repatriate to the CSR in Prague last summer. According to our source, it was apparently an accidental meeting at a Moscow railroad station as the Czech was returning to Prague. The Czech was delighted to see Subject, and introduced him to a Soviet official. This Soviet identified himself only by a first name and a telephone number, both unknown to our source. The Soviet described his work as being in the American Section of the MVD.

3. This Soviet Official has been cultivating Subject (trying to see him as often as possible, sometimes twice a week) since their introduction in December, by offering such blandishments as trips in a chauffeured private limousine into forbidden areas outside Moscow, tickets to any entertainment, access to material from previously inaccessible archives, the use of private country villas and all the "beautiful, interesting and intelligent girls" he might want. Subject has further been promised the opportunity of returning to the Soviet Union for as long as he wants at any future date. He would have to pay only his way over there; his expenses and return trip to the US would be paid by the Soviets.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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- 2 -

4. Subject has taken advantage of this offer to take several trips for sightseeing into forbidden areas around Moscow in a private car with the Soviet Official, and has also taken up a few offers for entertainment. Subject visited one of these villas, but refused the girls on the ground that he wants a woman to like him for himself, and not because she has been told to do so. The Soviet answered that "some of them will really learn to like you for yourself, as well as work for us," but Subject still declined to get involved. However, Subject has recently been taken up by a Soviet girl who had previously tried to seduce another American student and subsequently blurted out that she was put onto the latter American by the MVD, which she has also told Subject. Subject is reported to be responding warmly to her approaches although he has flatly told her he doesn't trust her nor any Russian completely. He claims he enjoys her company but will not have a serious affair with her, and suspects she may be tied up with the other women offered him by the Soviet Official.

5. In his relationship with the Soviet Official, Subject is reportedly aware that he is playing a risky game, and is only utilizing the situation for the comfort and convenience it brings him. He has told the Soviet frankly that he cannot be won over ideologically. Subject says he feels that the Soviets' interest in him is to cultivate him as a scholar of possible future importance to insure that he will always be sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Subject has reportedly told several other American students of his relationship with the Soviet Official in order to cover himself "in case anything happened".

6. This Soviet Official has evinced an interest to Subject in many of the American Exchange students, with the explanation that some would undoubtedly be back in Moscow within two years as Diplomats and that since this is his area of responsibility, he wants to know as much as possible about them. The Soviet indicated that he was quite aware of the pattern of the American Exchange students' trips to the US Embassy and what they do in the university buildings, but is not so sure of their activities around the city. To demonstrate to Subject his knowledge about the American students, the Soviet Official mentioned an affair going on within the American group of which Subject had been unaware. The Soviet's information turned out to be true.

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- 3 -

7. Subject was described by a reliable source, who knows him from group social gatherings at Harvard, as mature and socially vivacious with a warm personality. Subject is a clever and humorous conversationalist who likes to be surrounded by people, make new acquaintances, and develop friendships. Subject's patriotic motivation was not known to our source, but the latter felt that Subject was completely "Americanized" in manners and interests. Our source would guess that Subject has courage.

8. It is requested that no further dissemination be made of this information without prior clearance from this office. It is further requested that such clearance be obtained if Subject is to be contacted by you either before or after his return to the United States.

FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR, PLANS

Signed:   
JAMES ANGLETON

CS CI 3/754,303

~~SECRET~~

COPY

~~SECRET~~

2 June 1959

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

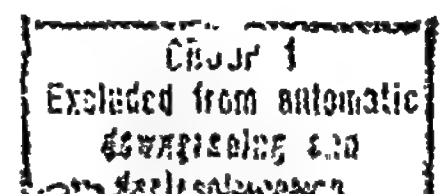
SUBJECT: RIHA, Thomas

1. Reference is made to our CSCI 3/751,690 of 27 October 1958, and our CSCI 3/754,303 of 14 April 1959 in which are reported the attempt by Czech Intelligence to induce Subject, a Czech-born naturalized American, to repatriate to Czechoslovakia, and the further cultivation of Subject by the KGB in Moscow where Subject is an Exchange Student during 1958-59. The following report describes further action by the KGB to recruit Subject, and his adamant refusal of any such offer. This latest information was recently received from RIHA by a sensitive and reliable source.

2. During April 1959, the Soviet Official who said he was from the American Section of the MVD (sic) and who had been cultivating Subject, allegedly asked the latter to make complete and regular reports on Michael Martin LUTHER, one of the other American Exchange Students at Moscow University. Subject was asked to spend as much time as possible with LUTHER, and to report where he goes, what he does and with whom he associates. If Subject were to do this reporting, the Soviet Official said he would make available certain material from Archives which Subject has been unable to get permission to use although research in this material is vital to his having a successful year academically in Moscow.

3. Subject alleges he flatly refused this "deal", saying that if he ever got mixed up in such a dirty business, it would be for his own side and not for the Communists. The Soviet Official then told Subject he should engage in such observation and reporting to the Soviets to lose some "naivete" about how the United States is exploiting the Cultural Exchange Program for intelligence purposes. To back up this assertion, the Soviet Official told Subject about a "spy nest where spies deposit things for one another" which he said had recently been uncovered near a university entrance frequented by still another American student, Walter CLEMENS, who, the Soviet implied, was not engaged in academic work only while studying at Moscow University.

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-2-

~~SECRET~~

Subject reportedly again adamantly refused to cooperate with the Soviet Official.

4. In paragraph 4 of CSCI 3/754,303, reference was made to a Soviet girl who had become interested in Subject, and whom Subject viewed with suspicion although continuing to see her for her companionship. Her name is Lida (Y)EGOROVA. Subject has now reportedly been alienated by her undependable personality and has pretty well broken up with her. This girl may have left, or soon be leaving, for Prague to join her husband.

5. It is requested that no further dissemination of this information be made without prior clearance from this office. It is further requested that such clearance be obtained if Subject is to be contacted by you.

FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR, PLANS:

Original: James A. Angleton

James Angleton

CSCI 3/754,373

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 2, 1970

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Reference is made to letter from Richard Helms, Director, CIA, dated February 26, 1970.

Pursuant to instructions the Liaison Agent advised Helms on February 27, 1970, that (1) the Bureau is discontinuing all contact with the CIA office in Denver and (2) that direct Liaison with CIA at headquarters is being terminated. Helms was further told that henceforth our communication with CIA will be by letter only.

ACTION:

Enclosed is a teletype to the Denver Office instructing that all contact with the local CIA office be discontinued.

GH  
10

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

CODE

3/2/70

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC DENVER

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

THOMAS RIHA, INTERNAL SECURITY - CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IMMEDIATELY DISCONTINUE ALL CONTACT WITH THE LOCAL  
CIA OFFICE.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 5-5-70

FROM : D. E. Moore *DEM/wfo  
6-4-70*

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

At 4:35 p.m., today I telephonically contacted ASAC Morley, Denver, and advised him that an article concerning the Riha case had appeared in the Sunday News (New York) 4-3-70. This article was a general rehashing of the Riha case.

I told him that the Bureau desired that SAC Werner contact the District Attorney to determine the developments of his investigation in this case and also determine what conclusions had been reached. Morley said this would be done.

Morley was asked if Denver had information concerning a professor who had gone to El Paso, Texas, or New Orleans, Louisiana, and he advised this probably referred to Dr. Joseph Smiley, former President at Colorado University who was there when Riha disappeared. He said that Smiley is now President of the University of Texas, at El Paso, Texas. He said Denver had no information that Dr. Smiley has any current information concerning this matter.

SAC Werner called at 5:30 p.m., today to advise that he had been unable to get in touch with the District Attorney but also was following up on this and would contact the District Attorney today and get in a teletype tonight.

## ACTION:

For record purposes.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*



THE TELETYPE UNIT  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR002 DN PLAIN

5:15 PM URGENT 5-5-70 DCM

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: DENVER

THOMAS RIHA

REBUTELCAL TODAY.

PURSUANT TO REQUEST IN REBUTELCAL, THIS IS TO ADVISE THE PROFESSOR WHO ALLEGEDLY WENT TO EL PASO OR NEW ORLEANS CONCERN-  
ING THOMAS RIHA <sup>AND</sup> HIS DISAPPEARANCE IS UNDOUBTEDLY DR. JOSEPH SMILEY, FORMER PRESIDENT, COLORADO UNIVERSITY, BOULDER, COLO., WHO IS NOW PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS IN EL PASO, TEXAS.

DR. SMILEY WAS ORIGINALLY CONTACTED BY CIA AND ADVISED BY CIA THAT RIHA WAS ALIVE AND WELL.

AS BUREAU HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY ADVISED, CIA ATTEMPTED TO ATTRIBUTE THE ABOVE INFORMATION CONCERNING RIHA TO THE FBI. HOWEVER, SINCE THERE WAS NO FEDERAL VIOLATION OVER WHICH THE BUREAU HAD INVESTIGATIVE INTEREST, NO FBI INVESTIGATION WAS  
REC-35  
END PAGE ONE

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

PAGE TWO

CONDUCTED.

DENVER FILES CONTAIN NO FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING RIHA OTHER THAN THAT PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED TO THE BUREAU.

DENVER DISTRICT ATTORNEY JAMES MC KEVITT, GENERALLY KNOWN AS MIKE MC KEVITT, ADVISED TODAY THAT THE INVESTIGATION BY HIS OFFICE CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PROFESSOR RIHA IS AT A STANDSTILL SINCE ALL LEADS HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED. MC KEVITT STATES THAT HE FEELS GALYA TANNENBAUM, FORMER CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF RIHA, MAY HAVE KILLED HIM IN VIEW OF FACT THAT MC KEVITT'S INVESTIGATION INDICATES THERE WAS A VERY BAD FEELING BETWEEN RIHA AND TANNENBAUM JUST PRIOR TO HIS DISAPPEARANCE DUE TO THE FACT THAT TANNENBAUM WAS FORGING CHECKS ON RIHA'S ACCOUNT.

FULL BACKGROUND CONCERNING TANNENBAUM PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED BUREAU UNDER CAPTION "GALYA TANNENBAUM, AKA, IMPERSONATION," BUFILE UNKNOWN, DENVER FILE FOUR SEVEN DASH THREE ONE NINE ZERO.

MC KEVITT SAID INVESTIGATION ALSO REVEALED THAT TANNENBAUM  
END PAGE TWO

WAS PROBABLY A NYMPHOMANIAC AND THAT SHE AND RIHA HAD HAD  
CONSTANT SEXUAL AFFAIRS AND THAT SHE HELD THIS AS A CLUB OVER  
HIS HEAD IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORGERY OF THESE CHECKS.

IN ANY EVENT MC KEVITT STATES IT IS HIS OPINION THAT RIHA  
IS DEAD SINCE HIS INVESTIGATION ALSO REVEALS RIHA WAS VERY AT-  
TACHED TO HIS FRIENDS AND MC KEVITT FEELS THAT HE WOULD GET IN  
TOUCH WITH HIS FRIENDS IF HE WERE ALIVE. MC KEVITT ALSO ADVISES  
THAT INVESTIGATION BY HIS OFFICE INDICATES RIHA WAS VERY  
ABNORMAL IN HIS SEXUAL DESIRES AND PURSUITS AND THAT THIS WAS  
HIS GREAT WEAKNESS; THAT HE COULD NOT LEAVE WOMEN ALONE AND  
THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT ONE OF THESE INVOLVEMENTS MAY HAVE  
RESULTED IN HIS DEATH.

IN VIEW OF THE DETAILS AND FACTS SET FORTH ABOVE, ANY  
INTERVIEW WITH DR. JOSEPH SMILEY IS BEING LEFT TO THE DISCRETION  
OF THE BUREAU.

END

WJM FBI WA



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 6, 1970

FROM : A. W. Gray *AW*

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Pursuant to Director's request Denver District Attorney James "Mike" McKevitt interviewed 5/5/70 as to investigation of Riha, Czechoslovak-born, naturalized, former professor of Russian history at Colorado University, who departed Denver area 3/69 without notifying friends, associates or estranged wife. His disappearance has been glamorized and spiced up in newspaper articles by references to Galya Tannenbaum, his paramour. McKevitt stated investigation at standstill, all leads being exhausted. He feels Tannenbaum may have killed subject since bad feeling developed between them prior to his disappearance due to her forging checks on his account. Further, Tannenbaum probably a nymphomaniac who had constant sexual affairs with Riha and used this as a club over his head to prevent disclosure of forgeries. In McKevitt's opinion Riha is dead since he was close to his friends and if alive would contact them. Investigation indicates Riha abnormal in his sexual desires and could not leave women alone. Possibility exists one of these involvements may have resulted in his death.

Dr. Joseph Smiley, former President, Colorado University, where subject employed, is now President, University of Texas, El Paso, Texas. Smiley after subject's disappearance stated subject was alive and well. When challenged by McKevitt to disclose basis for statement he refused and appealed to CIA, his source, for help. Bureau vigorously refuted CIA's claim that Bureau Agent was original source for statement. As result McKevitt publicly announced statement was not true and resulted from "honest mistake." No indication Smiley has any facts to contribute concerning subject's current whereabouts or basis for his disappearance. Since Bureau has conducted no investigation into Riha's disappearance, interview of Smiley could result in impression Bureau entering case. However, if Director so desires, El Paso will be instructed to interview Dr. Smiley. Bureau files show subject attended Moscow University 9/58-9/59. Our files show CIA gave Riha a short briefing prior to his entry into USSR in 1958. In 1958-59 CIA advised Czech intelligence attempted to persuade Riha to repatriate and later introduced Riha to Soviet intelligence which attempted his recruitment. After subject's return to US in 1959 no information was developed as to continued interest in him by Soviet intelligence.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: THOMAS RIHA  
105-78256

ACTION:

If the Director so desires, El Paso will be furnished background information regarding Riha and will be instructed to interview Dr. Smiley.

*Yes.*  
*H.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 5/7/70

FROM : A. W. Gray *AWG*

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Rememo A. W. Gray to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, same caption, dated 5/6/70, by which the Director instructed we interview Dr. Joseph Smiley, President, University of Texas, El Paso, Texas.

At 1:40 p.m., 5/7/70, I telephoned ASAC Jay Cochran, Jr., El Paso, and furnished him background of this matter. I instructed him to have Dr. Smiley contacted immediately, to make it clear that the FBI was not investigating the Riha matter and to inquire of Smiley if he has any new information regarding Riha's disappearance or current whereabouts.

ASAC Cochran was told to send the results of this interview of Dr. Smiley immediately by teletype to the Bureau. He was also told that in the event Dr. Smiley is out of town or otherwise unavailable for interview, a teletype should be sent immediately to the Bureau advising as to when the interview would be conducted.

## ACTION:

None. For record purposes.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 5/8/70

FROM : A. W. Gray

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIHA  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference memorandum A. W. Gray to Mr. W. C. Sullivan 5/6/70, same caption, by which the Director instructed that Dr. Joseph Smiley, President, University of Texas at El Paso, Texas, be interviewed as to any knowledge he possessed concerning Riha's disappearance or current whereabouts.

Dr. Smiley was interviewed 5/7/70 and was most cooperative. Smiley stated since leaving the University of Colorado in 6/69 his knowledge of developments in this case has been derived from articles he has read in "The Denver Post." He speculated Riha may have been involved in intelligence work and based this comment on Riha's being a "loner" and having married a Czech girl. He said he had no evidence to support this speculation. He said that he was aware that one Mrs. Tannenbaum, a woman indicted in Colorado for a number of frauds and a suspect in two arsenic poisonings, is considered a suspect in the disappearance of Riha. He concluded that he had no further information concerning either Riha's disappearance or his whereabouts.

## ACTION:

For information of the Director.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

FBI

Date: 5/8/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, EL PASO

SUBJECT: THOMAS RIJA  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SINO-SATELLITE SECTION

ReButel call to EP, 5/7/70;  
EP tel call to Bureau, 5/7/70.

In accordance with the request of the Director, SA FRANCIS J. PRASEK interviewed Dr. JOSEPH SMILEY, President of UTEP. Dr. SMILEY was advised that the FBI has no jurisdiction in this matter, nor is it conducting any active investigation regarding RIJA, and that we were simply desirous of being advised of any new information he may have received regarding RIJA's disappearance and/or present whereabouts.

Dr. SMILEY, who was most gracious and pleasant, stated that he left the University of Colorado, Boulder Colorado, in 6/69, and has since that time followed the investigation of RIJA and his disappearance which is being conducted by the newspaper "The Denver Post".

SMILEY, in 4/69, approximately three weeks after the disappearance of RIJA, contacted RIJA's attorney for the purpose of determining whether the attorney had any information regarding RIJA, since it was necessary for SMILEY to know whether RIJA was alive and whether he intended to return to the University for the fall semester of 1969 to resume teaching in the History Department. SMILEY, who cannot now recall the name of the attorney, was furnished an address for RIJA in Montreal, Canada, and a letter was directed to this address by the History Department seeking information regarding RIJA and his intentions.

2 Bureau (RAM)  
1 El Paso

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*



After leaving Boulder, SMILEY was advised by Dean WILLIAM E. BRIGGS, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Colorado, Boulder, that a letter was received by the University purportedly written by RIJA in which he stated that he would not be returning to the University. BRIGGS advised SMILEY that in his opinion, the letter was a forgery, since the signature did not compare with that of RIJA.

After the disappearance, SMILEY began receiving a great many inquiries from the news media and he was pressed for a statement regarding his knowledge of RIJA and whether or not he was alive.

THE FOLLOWING WAS FURNISHED BY DR. SMILEY IN THE STRICTEST OF CONFIDENCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WAS FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE FBI AND NOT FOR DISSEMINATION TO ANY OUTSIDE AGENCY SINCE HE WAS BREAKING A CONFIDENCE WITH AN ASSOCIATE IN THE DENVER OFFICE OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY:

Being hounded by the press for a statement, he contacted a source in the CIA Office at Denver since he, SMILEY, was formerly a member of the Office of Naval Intelligence, thinking that perhaps that agency could assist him off the record with any information it might possess. SMILEY was aware that the CIA had interviewed RIJA following a trip by RIJA to the Soviet Union. The CIA source subsequently told Dr. SMILEY to merely advise the press that he had information to the effect that RIJA was "alive and well". This information was subsequently released by Dr. SMILEY to the student press at the University of Colorado, and it appeared in print.

When the Office of the District Attorney in Denver instituted investigation into the disappearance of RIJA, SMILEY was contacted by the DA's Office regarding the source of his statement. Dr. SMILEY again contacted the Denver CIA Office source and was advised that he was to state nothing and that he would be recontacted.

Some days later, the CIA source recontacted him and told him that he would be receiving an inquiry from the Office of the DA in the form of a statement, and that he should agree with the statement even though it "was not quite the truth". SMILEY did not question



these instructions, since he felt that CIA knew what should be done in this type of case. He received a telephone call from the DA's Office and a statement was read to him to the effect that the information which he had received and made public to the effect that RIJA was alive and well was in error. SMILEY told the caller that he agreed with the statement and nothing further came of this.

Dr. SMILEY does not know what part, if any, the CIA has in this case, but since he, SMILEY, is himself a former intelligence agent he did not feel that he had the right to question something which might be of vital importance to his country.

DR. SMILEY REQUESTED THAT NO HINT OR INFERENCE BE GIVEN TO THE CIA WHICH WOULD INDICATE THAT HE HAS REVEALED TO THE FBI HIS CONTACTS REGARDING THIS MATTER WITH THE DENVER OFFICE OF THE CIA.

He stated that though he has no evidence to substantiate his belief, he cannot get it out of his mind that RIJA may have been a double agent for the Soviets or the Czechoslovaks. He is aware that one Mrs. TANNENBAUM, a woman indicted for a number of frauds and a suspect in two arsenic poisonings, is considered a suspect in the disappearance of RIJA. He never knew RIJA to be associated with any such woman, but stated that he was not acquainted with the personal life of RIJA who was somewhat of a "loner".

RIJA, when he joined the staff of the University of Colorado, was single but in 8/68, an individual came to visit RIJA ostensibly for the purpose of arranging a marriage between RIJA and the man's sister. The intended bride was a Czechoslovakian girl who was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and this "brother-in-law" was entertained by a member and colleague of RIJA in the History Department. This individual indicated to SMILEY that although the "brother-in-law" supposedly did not speak any English, and had RIJA translate every statement into Czech, it was apparent from the gestures and expressions of the "brother-in-law" that he understood more than he let on. Three weeks after the visit of this man, the woman who became Mrs. RIJA came to Boulder, Colorado, where she and RIJA were married. The marriage resulted in divorce a short time later and the girl reportedly returned to the East Coast from whence she came.

Dr. SMILEY indicated that he has no further information regarding this matter, but that Dean WILLIAM E. BRIGGS, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Colorado, Boulder, should be in possession of the letter purportedly written from Canada by RIJA, and may be in a position to assist in answering any question the Bureau might have regarding RIJA's association with the University of Colorado, since BRIGGS would have possession of these records. He stated BRIGGS is a trusted confidant of his and Dr. SMILEY's name should be used as an introduction should the Bureau desire any information of BRIGGS.

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

The Attorney General

June 11, 1975

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. L. F. Schwartz

**UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to this Bureau's memorandum of May 19, 1975, which forwarded a memorandum of the same date for your approval and forwarding to the SSC in partial response to its request of April 30, 1975.

Attached for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is the original of an additional memorandum which completes the response to the Committee's request.

A copy of the memorandum for the SSC is being provided for your records.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: K. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination  
LFS:mjg  
(9)

*Sect 102 believed  
HSC Sen 94. (8/24/75 L.F.)  
7/16/76.*

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

REG-102

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2 AUM/IMP

MDR-16

JUN 25 1975

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

84 JUN 25 1975  
DM 255020 DocId:32989606 Page 87

GPO 951-546



2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar

62-116395

June 11, 1975

1 - Mr. L. F. Schwartz

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

RE: ~~SECTIONS OF THE MANUAL OF~~  
INSTRUCTIONS NOT PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED

Reference is made to the memorandum from captioned Committee dated April 30, 1975, and appendices thereto which contained requests for certain documents and other information from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). This Bureau's memorandum of May 19, 1975, provided a partial response to this request and advised that it would be necessary to clear Section 102 of the Manual of Instructions with other interested agencies.

Section 102 has now been cleared with the other interested agencies and is available for review by Mr. Mark Gitenstein or other designated members of the Committee's staff at FBI Headquarters.

1 - The Attorney General

LFS:mjgmys  
(8)

NOTE:

Third agency considerations have been resolved by coordination with other appropriate agencies. Section 102 pertains to relations with other agencies.

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒

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5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: Senate Select Committee

☐ LTR ☒ LHM ☐ Memo ☐ Report dated 6/11/75

U.S. Senate Select Committee. Re: Sections  
Caption of Document: of the Manual of Instructions not  
Previously Furnished  
Section 102 of MOI

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: Paul V. Daly Date: 6-13-75

Received by: James E. Ellipt

Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE  
BEFORE COMPLETING.TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central IndexFROM:  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available  
for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

6/11/75

☒ DOCUMENT ☐ BRIEFING ☐ INTERVIEW ☐ TESTIMONY ☐ OTHER*For Review*

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

☒ SSC

J. T. Elliff

☐ HSC4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer,  
interviewee, testifier and subject)

Sections of the Manual of Instructions not previously furnished

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, other-  
wise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

SSC letter dated 4/30/75, Part 2.

6. CLASSIFICATION OF  
INFORMATION (enter  
U, C, S, TS or  
Codeword)

"U"

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are  
used underline for emphasis)

OPERATING PROCEDURES

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

In response to above-cited SSC request, the SSC was advised that designated Sections, with one exception, of FBI Manual of Instructions were available for review at FBI Headquarters. By communication 6/11/75, SSC was advised excluded Section, which involved third agency considerations, is now available for review at FBI Headquarters.

NOTE: Original via Liaison to Central Community Index  
in connection with Sen study 75  
6-24-75 LFS

TJM:1hb  
(4)

62-116395

TREAT AS YELLOW

WOC  
EWS  
5-7-75

3791 (6-75)

CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE



## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
3 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
(Mr. P. V. Daly)

The Attorney General

June 11, 1975

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. L. F. Schwartz

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY

Enclosed for your information is the original of a memorandum concerning an interview by a staff member of captioned Committee of Daniel M. Armstrong, III, former Special Assistant to Acting Director E. Patrick Gray, III. A copy of the memorandum is also enclosed for forwarding to Mr. James A. Wilderotter, Associate Counsel to the President.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: K. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

1 - Personnel File of Daniel M. Armstrong, III

LFS:1hb 1hb  
(12)

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2am/umf

REC-102

JUN 25 1975

Pm

1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
3 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
(Mr. P. V. Daly)

62-116395

June 11, 1975

1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. L. F. Schwartz

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY (SSC)**

**RE: INTERVIEW OF FORMER FBI EMPLOYEE  
DANIEL M. ARMSTRONG, III, BY SSC  
STAFF MEMBER**

Set out below is information voluntarily furnished to the FBI by Mr. Armstrong, who was formerly Special Assistant to Acting Director L. Patrick Gray, III. Mr. Armstrong furnished the information following his interview by SSC Staff Member Mark Gitenstein. The interview took place in Washington, D. C., on June 6, 1975, between 10:00 a.m. and 12:15 p.m. Mr. Armstrong was not put under oath and was not advised of his rights including his right to personal counsel.

Mr. Armstrong advised that the interview covered the following areas:

1. The general activities of the FBI's Intelligence Division, particularly Mr. Armstrong's knowledge concerning research conducted in the Intelligence Division concerning the possibility of obtaining an Executive Order establishing the FBI's authority in security matters;

2. The alleged existence of files in former Director Hoover's office;

3. Mr. Armstrong's knowledge concerning the increase in the number of FBI representatives assigned abroad as Legal Attaches.

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Personnel File of Daniel M. Armstrong, III

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(11) DATE 10/23/2011 BY SP8m/mf  
MOR-16

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SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF FORMER FBI EMPLOYEE BY SSC

With regard to the effort made to obtain an Executive Order establishing the FBI's authority in security matters, Mr. Armstrong advised the SSC representative that in May, 1972, one of the principal questions raised by Mr. Gray was concerning the jurisdictional authority of the FBI to conduct intelligence or security investigations. He commented that in May, 1972, a conference was held at Quantico, Virginia, involving a number of Bureau executives and that during this conference the question of jurisdictional authority was discussed. Following the conference, a special team was set up to discuss this subject, including Mr. Armstrong and former Special Agent Thomas Smith of the Intelligence Division. According to Mr. Armstrong, it was felt that it would be appropriate to develop a new set of guidelines and not to rely on prior statutes and Presidential orders. Armstrong recalled that after several meetings of this group, Thomas Smith prepared a document consisting of 43 pages which was completed approximately six weeks after the group was created. Armstrong recalled that the document was received in the Acting Director's office and was discussed at one of the regular afternoon staff conferences. At that time it was agreed that the document was good but that the timing was not thought to be appropriate. The thought was expressed that it would be held in abeyance until after the coming elections. It was Mr. Armstrong's belief that the matter might have been discussed between Attorney General Kleindienst and Mr. Gray, and it was decided not to push the matter until after the elections. Mr. Armstrong recalled advising Mr. Smith of the location of the document and the fact that it was being held in abeyance until after the elections.

The matter of the above document did not come up again until shortly before the confirmation hearings concerning Mr. Gray. At that time it was Mr. Armstrong's belief that the Bureau should not push for the Executive Order until after a

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF FORMER FBI EMPLOYEE BY SSC

permanent Director of the Bureau had been confirmed. Mr. Armstrong advised that to the best of his knowledge the document was not given to the Department of Justice while Mr. Gray and his staff were in the Bureau.

Concerning files that were allegedly maintained in Mr. Hoover's office, Mr. Armstrong stated that shortly after Mr. Gray's arrival in the Bureau he made a statement to the effect that there were no secret files maintained by Mr. Hoover. Mr. Armstrong commented that he doubted the wisdom of making such a broad statement.

Shortly after Mr. Gray's statement was made, information came to Mr. Armstrong's attention which caused him to prepare a memorandum to Mr. Gray indicating the possibility of the existence of files in Mr. Hoover's office. Armstrong could not recall Mr. Gray's response to his memorandum but he believed that the original of the memorandum was returned to him and that he placed the original and the carbon in his desk along with other memoranda that he had prepared for Mr. Gray.

Mr. Armstrong stated that it was his theory that the files in Mr. Hoover's office were in two categories; the first being files containing information possibly detrimental to prominent persons in the Government and the other category being tidbits of information received in personal correspondence from various Special Agents in Charge concerning persons of possible interest to Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Armstrong advised further that at one of his daily conferences, Mr. Gray mentioned that he had talked to former Acting Associate Director Mark Felt concerning files which may have been maintained in Mr. Hoover's office and which he said were then in a safe in the custody of Mr. Felt.



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF FORMER FBI EMPLOYEE BY SSC

Mr. Armstrong could not recall whether Mr. Gray and Mr. Felt were to go through the safe together or whether Mr. Felt was to do it alone and advise Mr. Gray of his findings.

With regard to the present location of such files, Mr. Armstrong had no specific knowledge but speculated that if they existed they might have been destroyed before Mr. Gray arrived in the office, they might have been retained in Mr. Felt's safe or they might have been removed to the custody of Mr. Clyde Tolson or Miss Helen Gandy at Mr. Hoover's house.

Mr. Armstrong advised that on April 27, 1973, prior to his departure from the Bureau, he destroyed all of the memoranda he had retained in his desk and he is certain that among them was his memorandum concerning files in Mr. Hoover's office.

With regard to the increase in the number of Legal Attaches, Armstrong advised that he recalled that shortly before Mr. Gray came to the Bureau there had been an expansion in the number of Legal Attaches. He understood that traditionally the role of the Legal Attache had been to function as a liaison representative to foreign police agencies but that with the expansion in the number of Legal Attaches they were given additional responsibilities in the field of foreign intelligence collection, exactly to what extent he did not recall. He recalled that the expansion was at the initiation of the White House and may have been because the White House was not satisfied with the intelligence collected by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Armstrong stated that he saw a potential for friction with CIA and speculated that this might have been a factor in the breach of liaison between the FBI and CIA. He recalled writing a memorandum for Mr. Gray expressing doubts as to whether the training of Special Agents of the FBI equipped them for the collection of foreign intelligence and some subsequent discussion that



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY (SEC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF FORMER FBI EMPLOYEE BY SSC

perhaps the Legal Attaches should be brought home for such training, but that this idea was concluded to be impractical or unnecessary.

1 - The Attorney General

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central IndexFROM:  
FBI

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available  
for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

6/11/75

DOCUMENT

BRIEFING

☒

INTERVIEW

TESTIMONY

OTHER

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC

To the Attorney General with copy for forwarding to  
the White House.

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer,  
interviewee, testifier and subject)Memorandum reporting interview of Daniel M. Armstrong, III,  
formerly Special Assistant to FBI Acting Director L. Patrick  
Gray, III, by SSC Staff Member.5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, other-  
wise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

NA

6. CLASSIFICATION OF  
INFORMATION (enter  
U, C, S, TS or  
Codeword)

U

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are  
used underline for emphasis)Authorities for FBI's security investigations

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Interview included following topics: general activities of  
FBI's Intelligence Division, including FBI's authorities in  
security investigations; files maintained in former FBI Director  
Hoover's office, and increase in number of FBI representatives  
abroad as Legal Attaches.ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 RUM/lmf

MDR-16

TREAT AS YELLOW

SFP:1hb  
(4)ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX IN  
CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75.

62-116395

6-24-75 CFS

INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.



The Attorney General

Director, FBI

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. A. J. Decker, Jr.  
June 12, 1975

1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. R. D. Shea

Reference is made to the letter, and appendices thereto, from the SSC, dated May 14, 1975, requesting certain documents and other information from the FBI.

Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the Committee are an original of a memorandum and enclosures which are responsive to some of the requests.

A copy of the memorandum and enclosures are being furnished for your records.

Enclosures - 6

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: K. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

RDS:lek/ek  
(10)

REC-102

17 JUN 25 1975

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2 NIM/AMF

MOR-16

62-116395

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. A. J. Decker, Jr.  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar

June 12, 1975

1 - Mr. R. D. Shea

UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: REQUEST PERTAINING TO ELECTRONIC  
SURVEILLANCE

Reference is made to the SSC letter, with  
attached appendices, dated May 14, 1975, requesting  
certain documents and other information from the FBI.

In Appendix D, Item 10, the SSC requested  
all records, vouchers, travel authorizations, expense  
receipts, ticket stubs, governmental travel requests  
(GTRs), and any other documents which relate to travel  
by:

(a) Former Special Agent Lish Whitson from  
Washington, D. C., to Tampa or Miami, Florida, during  
1964;

(b) Former Special Agents Cartha DeLoach,  
Hobson Adcock, Don Manning, Harold Linebaugh, and  
Elmer Todd from Washington, D. C., to Atlantic City,  
New Jersey, during August, 1964;

(c) Former Special Agent William C. Sullivan  
from Washington, D. C., to Atlanta, Georgia, during 1964.

In respect to 10a, on 12/9/64 a travel voucher  
was processed for payment to former Special Agent  
Lish Whitson in the sum of \$19.40 for travel during  
the period 11/1-30/64. Accompanying the voucher was

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

RDS:lek  
(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ENCLOSURE

GPO : 1975 O - 569-920

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
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Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Request Pertaining to Electronic  
Surveillance

a memorandum copy of a GTR issued 11/21/64 by Whitson to National Airlines in the sum of \$107.40 for air travel from Washington, D. C., to Miami and return. Enclosed find a copy of the GTR issued by Whitson in connection with the aforementioned travel.

In respect to 10b, former Special Agents DeLoach, Adcock, Manning (correct name Donald Manning), Linebaugh (correct name Harold Linebaugh), and Special Agent Todd submitted travel vouchers for August, 1964. However, no GTRs were issued by them.

In regard to 10c, William C. Sullivan was the issuing officer of a GTR made out to Southern Railroad for travel from Washington, D. C., to Atlanta and return in the amount of \$74.55. Enclosed find a copy of the GTR issued by Sullivan in connection with the aforementioned travel. Sullivan submitted a voucher for 11/28-30/64 in the amount of \$37.10.

No other records are available concerning the travel and expenses of the individuals mentioned in 10a, 10b and 10c.

Enclosures - 2

1 - The Attorney General

NOTE:

The data regarding the GTRs and the travel of the individuals mentioned in the memorandum was obtained from the Voucher Unit, Data Processing Section, Computer Systems Division. In connection with 10a, 10b, and 10c, all expense vouchers of the individuals mentioned in these items have been destroyed under the Five-Year Retention Document Schedule Rule.



Bill TO <b>FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION</b> <b>WASHINGTON, D.C.</b>		A3,925.504							
The <u>National Airlines</u> Company is requested to furnish <u>Coach class</u> air fare including at least rate from <u>Washington, DC</u> to <u>Madison, Wisconsin</u> + <u>Return</u> <small>(If round trip service required, write "and return")</small>									
for use of <u>Lash Whitson</u> and others with <u>accommodations</u> from <u>Washington, DC</u> to <u>Madison, Wisconsin</u> with authorization <small>(If round trip service required, write "and return")</small>									
To transport not over <u>100</u> lbs. of baggage from <small>I certify that I have received the transportation service on tickets required</small> TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE <u>Lash Whitson</u> TITLE <u>Special Agent</u>		PLACE OF ISSUE <u>Washington, DC</u> <small>I certify that the transportation provided is for official business.</small> ISSUING OFFICER'S SIGNATURE <u>Lash Whitson</u> TITLE <u>Special Agent</u> FISCAL DATA (APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZATION, ETC.)							
TRAVELER MUST ASCERTAIN COST OF TRANSPORTATION AND/OR ACCOMMODATIONS AND RECORD IN SPACES BELOW									
<table border="1"> <tr> <td>107.40</td> <td></td> <td>107.40</td> </tr> <tr> <td>TRANSPORTATION AMT</td> <td>ACCOMMODATION AMT</td> <td>TOTAL</td> </tr> </table>		107.40		107.40	TRANSPORTATION AMT	ACCOMMODATION AMT	TOTAL	0502 21-70	
107.40		107.40							
TRANSPORTATION AMT	ACCOMMODATION AMT	TOTAL							
TICKET AGENT WILL NOT ACCEPT THIS									

DO NOT FOLD, SPINDLE OR MUTILATE

MEET GRANDMUM CARD COPY

The United States of America  
 Transportation Contract

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 01/19/00 BY SP8/AMJ/mf

MOR-16

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-260

STANDARD FORM NO. 1159a

Form prescribed by Comptroller General U.S.,  
May 1, 1955, in General Regulations No. 123.

(This space may be used to further identify services required.)


INSTRUCTIONS TO TRAVELERS

1. This memorandum should be forwarded in accordance with administrative instructions.
2. Inasmuch as the memorandum card copy of the transportation request serves a very important administrative record, care must be exercised that such copy is legible and complete in all respects when forwarded.
3. Indicate above the actual services furnished where same varies from that requested.  
(See paragraph 1 of "CONDITIONS" on reverse of original request.)

276-10482

STANDARD FORM NO. 1169a

Form prescribed by Comptroller General U.S.,  
May 1935, and amended by Regulations No. 123,  
Nov. 1935.

(This space may be used to further identify services required).

PASSED

149/10

DEC 16 1964

### INSTRUCTIONS TO TRAVELERS

This memorandum should be forwarded in accordance with administrative instructions.  
Inasmuch as the memorandum and copy of the transportation request serves a very  
important administrative record, care must be exercised that such copy is legible and  
complete in all respects when forwarded.

3. Indicate above the actual services furnished where same varies from that requested.  
(See paragraph 1 of "CONDITIONS" on reverse of original request.)

296-10002



Bill TO		FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHINGTON, D.C.		43,991,379	
To: Southern Railway		Company requested			
From: Washington, DC		to: New York, NY			
Name: William E. Sullivan and others with		Occupation: FBI			
Address: 1125 11th St NW		City: Washington, DC			
State: DC		Zip: 20004			
Traveler must ascertain cost of transportation and/or accommodations and record in spaces below					
42.95	25.60	74.55			
TICKET AGENT WILL NOT ACCEPT THIS					

The United States of America  
Transportation Department  
MEMORANDUM CARD COPY  
DO NOT FOLD, SPINDLE OR MUTILATE

11.25-64  
William E. Sullivan  
Assistant Director FBI  
0500  
21-60

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/16/80 BY SP8 EMO/mt  
MDK-16  
62-116395-260  
ENCLOSURE

140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: Senate Select Committee

☐ LTR ☒ LHM ☐ Memo ☐ Report dated 6/11/75  
U.S. Senate Select Committee: Re: Request  
Caption of Document: Pertaining to Electronic Surveil-  
lance

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: Richard T. Taylor

Date: 16 Jun 75

Received by: Sherry Towell

Title: Asst Off. Manager

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2008 BY SP2 AM/mt  
mor-16

CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE

NOTE: SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE  
BEFORE COMPLETING.TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:

Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available  
for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

6/12/75

☒ DOCUMENT ☐ BRIEFING ☐ INTERVIEW ☐ TESTIMONY ☐ OTHER

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

☒ SSC☐ HSC4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer,  
interviewee, testifier and subject)

Request Pertaining to Electronic Surveillance

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, other-  
wise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

SSC letter 5/14/75, Appendix D, Item 10.

6. CLASSIFICATION OF  
INFORMATION (enter  
U, C, S, TS or  
Codeword)

"U"

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are  
used underline for emphasis)SURVEILLANCE

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

SSC was furnished with information and documents relating to  
travel on the part of Bureau personnel in connection with SSC  
inquiry into this Bureau's use of electronic surveillances.

NOTE: Original via Liaison to Central Community  
Index in connection with Sensstudy 75.  
6-24-75 LFS

TJM:1hb  
(4)

62-116395

TREAT AS YELLOW  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2 JUM/mt  
MDR-16

WOC  
Ewf  
5-TIM

3791 (6-75)

CLASSIFY AS APPROPRIATE



## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 6/5/75

FROM : Legal Counsel *JM*

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

Attached is a proposed memorandum to the Attorney General with a letterhead memorandum attached enclosing a copy of a memorandum J. H. Gale to Mr. Tolson dated July 30, 1964, captioned "Investigation of Ku Klux Klan and other Hate Groups." It appears that we are proposing to give the copy of the Gale memorandum to the Senate Select Committee in response to their request by letter dated May 14, 1975, for a memorandum prepared by Gale relative to the subject matter of the 1964 memorandum.

My reading of the memorandum revealed that it is a purely deliberative document which quotes personal views of Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Rosen, Mr. Belmont, and Mr. Gale. I am concerned that the release of such a memorandum containing not only the personal views of Bureau officials, but also identifying them by name could have an impact on individuals in the future who may be asked to furnish their opinions concerning policy matters in the FBI. As indicated by the Attorney General in his speech in New York, it is essential that the Executive Branch have a degree of privacy concerning policy discussions and expressions of personal views by officials in order for the Executive to function properly.

I do recognize that we may not be able to resist giving the Committee access to material documents that bear on particular issues under investigation, however, I do recommend that when we are required to produce deliberative documents, the names and other identifying data relating to individuals furnishing views be deleted.

Enc. *JM*  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Cregar  
1 - Mr. Hotis  
1 - Mr. Daly  
1 - Mr. Mintz

REC-102

*Tolson*  
62-116395-259

17 JUN 25 1975

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/14/2000 BY SP2 DUM/mr

JAM:mfd (7)

CONTINUED - OVER



84 JUN 25 1975

Memorandum to Mr. Adams  
Re: Senate Select Committee, etc.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the names of individuals described in the body of the memorandum of July 30, 1964, and other identifying data be deleted prior to furnishing the copy to the Committee.

2. In regard to future responses to requests for documents of a deliberative nature that our policy be that names and identifying data will be deleted prior to disclosure of the documents.

*WPA/B*

*Jma*  
*smc*

*PLM*

*Jma*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 6-6-75

FROM : Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

Former Special Agent Richard H. Davis of the Atlanta Office telephonically contacted SA Paul V. Daly of this Division on 6-4-75 at which time he explained that he had been contacted by Michael Epstein of captioned Committee at which time Epstein requested that Davis make himself available for interview in either Atlanta, Georgia, or travel to Washington, D. C. Davis informed Epstein that he would have to obtain Bureau approval prior to submitting to interview inasmuch as he had to obtain a release from his employment secrecy agreement.

Mr. Davis informed SA Daly that he was reluctant to agree to being interviewed by captioned Committee concerning his activities as an Agent. It was pointed out to Mr. Davis that the decision as to whether to agree to interview was his, but he was advised that captioned Committee has subpoena power and might attempt to force him to furnish information through the use of a subpoena. He was informed that the Bureau was cooperating with captioned Committee and their inquiry into FBI operations.

It was explained to Mr. Davis that if he desired to allow himself to be interviewed, the Bureau would make available an employee at his request to be available but not present during interview. He was also advised that this Agent would not represent him as private counsel. Mr. Davis was advised that the Bureau's concern was not of matters of historical fact but rather testimony might be required which could impair the Bureau's efforts to discharge its responsibilities. It was also explained that the Bureau representative would assist him in making determination whether his response to a particular question would identify confidential informants, impair on-going investigations, divulge information derived from other Government agencies or foreign sources or expose sensitive investigative techniques and, therefore, a response should not be given.

62-116395 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

1 - Mr. W. O. Gregar

1 - Mr. Mintz

1 - Personnel file, Richard H. Davis

PVD:dkg (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

84 JUN 11 1975

Legal Counsel to Adams Memorandum  
Re: SENSTUDY 75

Mr. Davis indicated that he desired a Bureau representative be made available during his interview and would request the interview take place in Atlanta, Georgia. Additionally, he stated Epstein had indicated that the topic of discussion in the interview would be the Bureau's investigation of Martin Luther King, Stanley David Levison, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Davis stated he would recontact FBI Headquarters as soon as a date and place of interview had been determined. He indicated he would set the date for interview so that the Bureau would have ample opportunity to have an Agent available. We have separately requested Bureau approval for the release of Davis from his employment agreement for purposes of this interview.

ACTION:

That the Intelligence Division make available an Agent for the interview of Mr. Davis when and if a date and place are agreed upon.

PVD JBH/pv

*[Signature]*

DBA  
PCH

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

Wannell has designated SA Phillips per R/S 6/9/75

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Office of Associate Director

, 1975

*Study*

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Director	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Metcalf
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Callahan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Telephone Room
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Jenkins	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Adams	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Corres. Review
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Feeney	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mail Room
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Ash	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Teletype
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Bassett	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Personnel Records
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Cleveland	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mechanical Section
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Cochran	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Decker	<input type="checkbox"/> For Appropriate
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Gallagher	<input type="checkbox"/> Action
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Gebhardt	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Approval
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. McDermott	<input type="checkbox"/> Initial and Return
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mintz	<input type="checkbox"/> Please Call Me
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mooney	<input type="checkbox"/> For Information
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Moore	<input type="checkbox"/> Per Conversation
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Walsh	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wannall	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mack	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. O'Connell	
<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Tietgen	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Mutter	
<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Downing	
<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Southers	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Haines	
<input type="checkbox"/> M	

Room

Item # 6 (tabbies) re K

"items with an unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities" should create Congressional furor.

Paul L. Mack  
Room 7004, Ext. 5606

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/19/00 BY SP2AM/106  
MOR-16

84 JUN 26 1975

G-102

62-116395-257

17 JUN 25 1975

*[Handwritten signature and stamp]*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)

DATE: 6/18/75

- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin  
1 - Mr. T. E. Burns

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall *W. Wannall*  
FROM : W. O. Cregar *W. O. Cregar*  
SUBJECT: SENSTUDY

Reference is made to Bureau letter to The Attorney General 6/20/75 captioned "United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities (SSC)," forwarding letterhead memorandum for approval and forwarding to SSC.

The Director asked if we have any amplification of this instruction (to submit items with unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities for dissemination to the President under the INLET Program) or do we know of any submission responsive to this which illustrates interpretation?

There has been no amplification of this instruction, nor any submission under INLET of an item on prominent personalities that would show the interpretation of this point.

With respect to the observation that this matter should cause a congressional furor, it is noted that INLET has already been afforded considerable publicity, beginning in February, 1973, after an office memorandum on the subject reached the news media. This publicity is why the Senate Committee asked for documents on INLET. The White House and Senator Bob Packwood inquired about the Program. A detailed defense of INLET appeared in the Congressional Record.

By way of background, the INLET instruction that has received the most publicity--items with an unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities--was recalled by the author of the INLET Program initiating letter as having been specifically dictated by then Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan.

TEB:lek

(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2Aim/Inf  
MOR-16

REC-102

62-116395-256  
CONTINUED - OVER

17 JUN 24 1975

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: SENSTUDY

While we cannot say exactly what former Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan had in mind when he added the instruction about items with an unusual twist, we can speculate with a hypothetical example.

If we learned that a trusted assistant to an important government official--an official who had taken a "hard line" with respect to dealings with the Soviet Union, for example--was under development by Soviet intelligence, this would be an unusual twist to an item of intelligence interest to the President involving a prominent person.

In such a hypothetical case, we would, of course, advise the government official involved, and The Attorney General and the President. We would have done this under INLET and we would still disseminate this type of data. INLET was only a vehicle for special dissemination.

ACTION:

For information.

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 6-10-75

FROM : Legal Counsel *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. *[Signature]*  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

John Elliff of captioned Committee's task force on Domestic Intelligence Activities advised on 6-9-75, that the Committee is planning to have a Bureau representative testify concerning the FBI's authority to conduct investigations in the domestic and counterintelligence areas in late June or early July. Mr. Elliff stated that this testimony would be before the Senators and will be a general exploration of jurisdictional authority. Mr. Elliff also volunteered that he had told K. William O'Connor, Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination of the Department, that the Committee wanted to be furnished a copy of the T. J. Smith Memorandum dated 7-31-72 concerning FBI's investigative jurisdiction in domestic and counterintelligence matters. Elliff stated that at this point, a summary of such documents would not be an acceptable substitute. Elliff desired such a document be made available to the Committee prior to the aforementioned testimony. With regards to testimony, Elliff indicated that it would not necessarily have to be the Director giving a testimony. *[Signature]*

Elliff stated as he finalizes his plans concerning the testimony concerning FBI investigative jurisdiction, he would recontact SA Paul V. Daly of this Division and give more details concerning this matter.

62-116395

- 1 - Mr. Adams
- 1 - Mr. Wannall  
Attn: Cregar
- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. Kelly
- 1 - Mr. Hotis
- 1 - Mr. Daly

PVD:EEK *[Signature]*  
(8)

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5 JUN 12 1975

(CONTINUED - OVER)

LEGAL COUNSEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2AM/MAF

MAR-14

84 JUN 25 1975



Legal Counsel to Adams, Memo  
Re: SENSTUDY 75

With regards to the request concerning the Smith document, we should await K. William O'Connor's request prior to taking any action concerning this matter, and with regards to testimony, we should await further details prior to engaging in the preparation of that testimony.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*pad*

*jsk*

*jt*

*jsk*

*jmm*

*wal*

*pen*

*glw*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 19 1976

TELETYPE

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Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
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Intell.	<u>W.R.U.</u> <u>HEM</u>
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR 026 LA PLAIN

10:14PM NITEL 6-18-75 RLD

TO DIRECTOR (62-116464)

FROM LOS ANGELES (66-1700-4124)

ATTN: INTD, WILLIAM O. CREGAR.

SENSTUDY 1975.

RE BUTEL TO LOS ANGELES, JUNE 17, 1975.

THE LOS ANGELES OFFICE IS UNABLE TO IDENTIFY ANY  
INSTANCE THAT WAS ALLUDED TO IN CAPTIONED AIRTEL AND  
THERE IS NO RECORD OF ANY AGENTS BY THE NAME OF RON MASCAR  
OR WILLIAM MILLER ASSIGNED TO THE LOS ANGELES DIVISION  
SINCE 1956 TO PRESENT.

END

HOLD

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JUN 24 1975

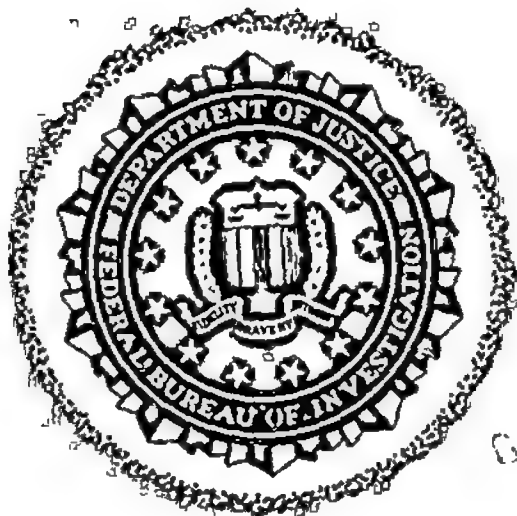
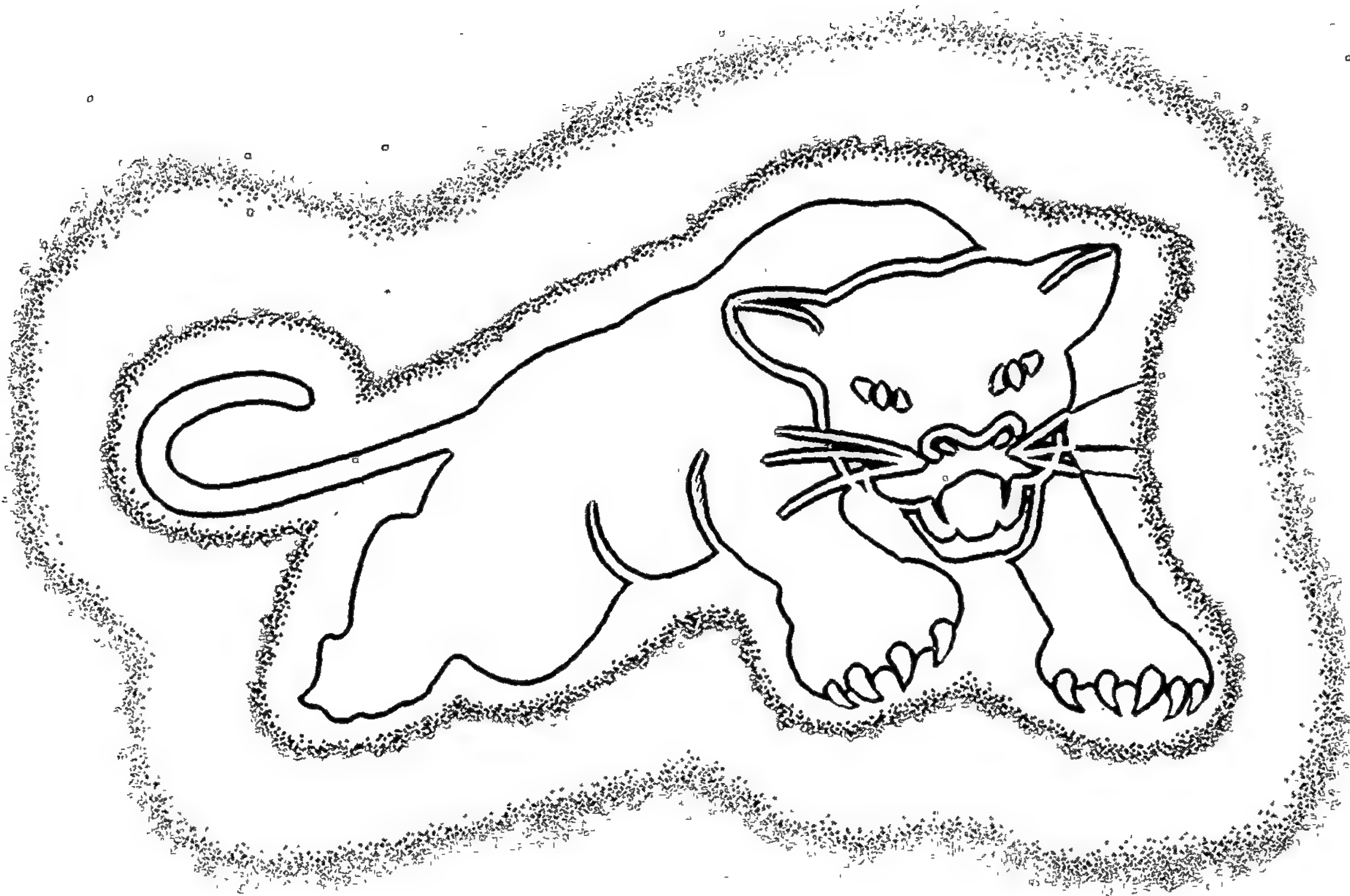
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DATE 10/9/00 BY SP2 SUM/mf

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84 JUN 24 1975

# Black Panther Party



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

MARCH 1971



"WE ARE FROM 25 TO 30 MILLION STRONG, AND WE ARE ARMED. AND WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF OUR SITUATION. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CHANGE IT. AND WE ARE UNAFRAID."



WARNING TO AMERICA

RECEIVED  
JAN 10 1968  
FBI - NEW YORK



BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## Table of Contents

I. FOUNDING . . . . .	1
II. BLACK PANTHER OBJECTIVES . . . . .	3
III. RISE OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY . . . . .	6
Invasion of California State Legislature . . . . .	6
Police Officer Meets Panthers – and Death . . . . .	6
“Free Huey” Campaign . . . . .	6
Enter Leroy Eldridge Cleaver . . . . .	7
International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver . . . . .	7
Rise of the Black Panther Party . . . . .	8
IV. LEADERSHIP . . . . .	9
National Committee to Combat Fascism . . . . .	10
International Section . . . . .	10
V. FUNDS . . . . .	12
VI. “SOCIALISTIC” PROGRAMS . . . . .	13
VII. TACTICS . . . . .	15
Target: Police . . . . .	15
Attacks on Others . . . . .	15
Weapons Caches . . . . .	16
“Revolutionary Suicide” . . . . .	16
Panther “Justice” . . . . .	18
VIII. PROPAGANDA . . . . .	20
Editorials . . . . .	21
Inflammatory Articles . . . . .	24
Provocative Slogans . . . . .	29
“Revolutionary Art” . . . . .	30
International News . . . . .	35

*THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PREPARED BY THE FBI AS  
A BRIEF STUDY OF THE BACKGROUND, TACTICS, AND  
OBJECTIVES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. THE  
ORGANIZATION'S OWN PUBLICATIONS WERE THE  
SOURCE FOR MOST OF THE MATERIAL REPRODUCED.*





LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM  
AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF  
**LUCY P. NEWTON**  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
AND SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE.







BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## I. FOUNDING

The Black Panther Party, with headquarters in Oakland, California, was founded in 1966 by two Oakland Negroes — Huey Percy Newton and Bobby George Seale — both at that time at Merritt College in Oakland. The name and symbol of the new party were taken from the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, an Alabama political party known informally in 1965 as the Black Panther Party.

From the writings of communists, revolutionaries, and black militants, Newton and Seale allegedly selected ideas around which they could build a revolutionary frame that suited the needs of their party. Influential writings included those of Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist leader; Frantz Fanon, West Indian psychiatrist who advocated violence for Algerian nationalists; Ernesto "Che" Guevara, one-time lieutenant of Cuba's Fidel Castro and a principal architect of 20th century guerrilla warfare; Malcolm X, American black nationalist who advocated violence to obtain Negro "freedom"; and W. E. B. DuBois, Negro educator who became a member of the Communist Party, USA, at the age of 93.

The organization was at first called the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; however, the "Self-Defense" was removed in 1968 in an effort to project a more politically oriented image to prospective sympathizers and supporters.

As head of the new Black Panther Party, Newton assumed the title Minister of Defense, and Seale was named Chairman. When questioned about the membership of their organization, Newton and Seale gave the since oft-repeated reply: "Those who know don't say. Those who say don't know." The militancy of the group, however, had an immediate appeal to the discontented, restless youth of Oakland's ghettos.



HUEY PERCY NEWTON



BOBBY GEORGE SEALE



*Black Panther Party Chairman, Bobby Seale, and Minister of Defense, Huey Newton, selling Red Chinese magazine and "quotations from Chairman Mao Tse Tung."*

*3-2-67 San Francisco, Calif.*





BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## II. BLACK PANTHER OBJECTIVES

The Black Panther Party "Platform and Program" is repeated in each issue of the official Party publication, The Black Panther.

**October 1966**

### **Black Panther Party Platform and Program**

# **What We Want What We Believe**

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.



**3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.



**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.







BLACK PANTHER PARTY

### III. RISE OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Proclaiming a legal right to bear arms, the Panthers by early 1967 had begun to appear in public wearing black leather jackets and black berets, openly carrying shotguns, rifles, or pistols, and shouldering bandoliers of ammunition.

Calling the police "pigs," the Panthers began a buildup in Negro areas of the idea that police departments, especially that in Oakland, were dedicated to the brutalization and harassment of minority groups, and, acting as an appendage of white government authority, were working toward the eventual annihilation (genocide) of the Negro race.

#### *Invasion of California State Legislature*

The first incident that brought national attention to this group occurred on May 2, 1967, as the California Legislature was in session in Sacramento. Approximately 40 members of the Black Panther Party, carrying loaded rifles, pistols, and shotguns, and some wearing bandoliers of ammunition about their waists or draped over their shoulders, burst into the Chamber. They were protesting a bill being introduced on that date outlawing the carrying of loaded weapons in public and were proclaiming their right to bear arms and criticize the police. Before they were arrested, they passed out mimeographed leaflets calling on all Negroes to end the "terrorist" oppression of colored races by white America and referring to the preparation of concentration camps in the United States as a beginning of genocide.

#### *Police Officer Meets Panthers--and Death*

The Panthers became more militant with the passing of time. At 5:00 a.m., October 28, 1967, two Oakland, California, patrol officers, John F. Frey and Herbert C. Heanes, made a routine traffic violation car stop. While the officers were awaiting the results of the car registration check by radio, the driver, Huey Newton, got out of the car. Suddenly, shooting broke out. Officer Frey was killed; Officer Heanes was wounded critically; and Newton received a stomach wound. He stopped a passing automobile and had the driver take him to a hospital where he was taken into custody and hospitalized. After a state trial, which began July 15, 1968, Newton was sentenced on September 27, 1968, to serve from 2 to 15 years on a charge of voluntary manslaughter.\*

#### *"Free Huey" Campaign*

Two days after Patrolman Frey's death, the Huey Newton Defense Fund was established at a meeting of a section of the Negro community of Oakland.

The cry of "Free Huey" became a clarion call. The imprisoned Newton was built up in the public eye as "black and bold in defense of his people." Each

\*It was ruled later that the presiding judge in this trial erred in instructions to the jury. Newton was released August 5, 1970, and scheduled for retrial.





**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

bringing its own axe to grind, such organizations as the anarchist New Left group named Students for a Democratic Society; the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance; the Communist Chinese-oriented Progressive Labor Party; the Communist Party, USA, and its youth affiliate, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America; and militant campus groups, black and white, began to gather in support of the Panthers, who were willing not only to defy the establishment, but to destroy it.

### *Enter Leroy Eldridge Cleaver*

Early in 1967, the Panthers were joined by a recent parolee from the California prison system, author of a best-selling autobiography, *Soul On Ice*, staff writer for the magazine *Ramparts*, and admitted Marxist — Leroy Eldridge Cleaver.

In *Soul On Ice*, Cleaver wrote: "I sought out his (Marx's) books...It was like taking medicine for me to find that, indeed, American Capitalism deserved all the hatred and contempt that I felt for it in my heart...."

After Newton was jailed, although he remained the undisputed leader, it soon became apparent that Cleaver, designated Minister of Information, was projecting a major leadership image. The Party began to further widen its publicity, nationally and internationally, and enlarge its radical support and revolutionary intent.

As an example of this spreading influence of the Panther Party, the 1968 National Election ticket of the Peace and Freedom Party, a coalition of radical groups, included Cleaver as candidate for the Presidential nomination; Newton as candidate for the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, California; Kathleen Cleaver, 18th Assembly District, California State Legislature; Bobby Seale, 17th Assembly District, California State Legislature. Cleaver received a national total of almost 200,000 votes. Only a small percentage of the California electorate cast their votes for Newton, Seale, and Kathleen Cleaver.

On the evening of April 6, 1968, Cleaver and several Panthers became involved in a shoot-out with Oakland police officers. The incident resulted in the death of a Panther, the wounding of two police officers, and the wounding and arrest of Cleaver. Cleaver's parole was revoked immediately and he was returned to prison. After much publicity, he was later released on bail by a Superior Court Judge who ruled that the jeopardy of his parole status stemmed "from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals...offensive to many of his contemporaries." This decision was overruled by the District Court of Appeals and upheld by the California Court of Appeals. Cleaver was ordered to return to prison by November 27, 1968. Electing to become a Federal fugitive, he disappeared in late November, 1968, going first to Havana, Cuba, and later to Algiers, where he has established residence.

### *International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver*

Soon after Cleaver's arrest in the spring of 1968, approximately 150 prominent individuals sponsored the establishment of an International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver. The committee intended to dispatch a team to Europe to gain

international support and arrange for a European edition of Cleaver's book, *Soul On Ice*.

## *Rise of the Black Panther Party*

In May, 1968, the hard-core membership of the Black Panther Party was estimated at only 125, and Panther activity was confined largely to the San Francisco-Oakland, California, area. However, because of the dramatic shoot-outs, the "Free Huey" Campaign, the funds established for the defense of both Newton and Cleaver, the widespread publicity, and the support given readily by white radical groups and individual sympathizers, the Black Panther Party began to grow rapidly, not only in membership but in militancy and influence. Chapters began to appear in major cities throughout the country. By the end of 1968, the membership had reached nearly 2,000, with additional thousands of sympathizers and supporters.

PAGE 20 THE BLACK PANTHER SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

# 1968: BALLOT OR THE BULLET



KATHLEEN CLEAVER,  
COMMUNICATION SECT.,  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT  
S.F. PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY

SHOOT YOUR SHOT





BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## IV. LEADERSHIP

Organizationally, the Black Panther Party is set up to be under a Central Committee composed of the following positions:

- Minister of Defense and Supreme Commander, held by Huey Newton
- Chairman, held by Bobby George Seale
- Minister of Information, formerly held by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver
- Chief of Staff, held by David Hilliard
- Minister of Education, held by Raymond (Masai) Hewitt
- Communications Secretary, formerly held by Cleaver's wife, Kathleen
- Minister of Culture, held by Emory Douglas
- Field Marshal, formerly held by Donald Lee Cox

The position of Assistant Chief of Staff, not included among the Central Committee, is occupied by Roosevelt (June) Hilliard.

Under the Central Committee, the chain of command extends to leaders and officers of local chapters.



DAVID HILLIARD



RAYMOND (MASAI) HEWITT



KATHLEEN CLEAVER



EMORY DOUGLAS



DONALD LEE COX



## *National Committee to Combat Fascism*

Set up to coexist with Black Panther Party branches in various cities in the United States are chapters of another organization called National Committee to Combat Fascism. In actuality, there is little difference between the two. This group, a Panther Party front, was set up as the result of a revolutionary conference, called National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism, held in Oakland, California, in July, 1969. The conference, sponsored by the Black Panther Party and assisted by the anarchist Students for a Democratic Society and the Communist Party, USA, was called to form a coalition of black and white radicals, described as "oppressed people."

The National Committee to Combat Fascism is considered by Party leaders to be the "political organizing bureau" of the Black Panther Party. Its specific task allegedly is to raise the political level of the people and educate them against the system.

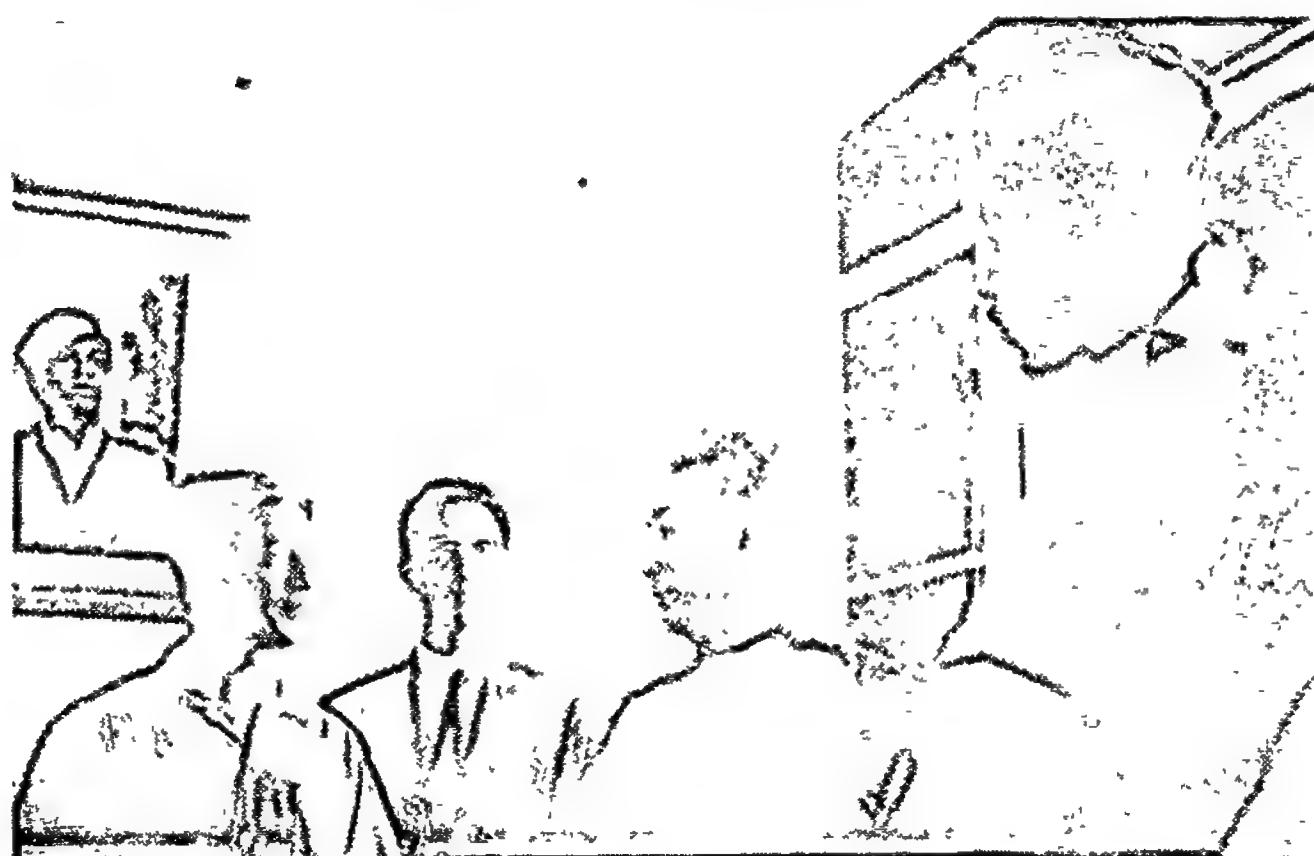
## *International Section*

On September 13, 1970, the International Section of the Black Panther Party officially opened in Algiers. Joining Cleaver on the staff were his wife, Kathleen, and Field Marshal Donald Lee Cox, a fugitive from justice. Cox faces charges of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for conspiracy to commit murder, based on a warrant issued on April 20, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland. He also failed to appear on May 14, 1970, in San Francisco, to answer Federal firearms charges.

This section, in its entirety, was expelled from the Black Panther Party by Huey Newton on February 27, 1971. The expulsion resulted from tensions and differences between Party hierarchy which led to disruptive factionalism.



*D.C. greeting African brothers*



*Chinese 2nd Ambassador (R), Press Attaché (M)  
and Cultural Attaché (L) talking with Eldridge*



*Opening attended by cross section  
of Liberation Movements*

*Scenes from opening of International Section,  
The Black Panther, October 31, 1970*



BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## V. FUNDS

The money by which the Black Panther Party operates comes from a number of sources. There are substantial private contributions; fees for public appearances, such as campus speeches, radio, and television appearances; payments for magazine articles; collections for trials and bail funds in this country and abroad; subscriptions and individual sales of the Party's official organ, *The Black Panther*; fund-raising activities sponsored by sympathizers and supporters; sales of recordings of interviews and speeches; and financial aid from radicals and extremists.

According to the press, there is reason to believe that the Panthers, to obtain additional funds, are engaging in criminal activities, such as burglaries and robberies.





BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## VI. "SOCIALISTIC" PROGRAMS

Panther Party leaders insist their primary aim is to serve the "people," meaning ghetto blacks. To establish good intent, Party officials have set up a series of community services aimed at recruiting members and sympathizers and building Party influence in ghetto areas. These programs, described by the Panthers as "socialistic" programs, are supposed to be carried out by all Party branches and include: "liberation schools" to give "our people a knowledge of self"; free health clinics, with money, medical supplies and professional services donated by laymen and professionals in the community; free clothing programs, with clothing donated by the community; Community Information Centers, to "answer the basic needs of the people"; and a monthly free shuttle bus service for families of blacks in prison. Few of these programs actually are carried out, and those that have been attempted have been mostly unsuccessful.

The program that has received the most publicity is the "breakfast program," devised as a further means of indoctrinating Negro youth in Panther teachings of racism and rebellion. As expressed in *The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969, "The youth we are feeding will surely feed the revolution." Breakfasts are held for ghetto children either at churches, housing projects, Panther Community Information Centers, or other space that can be obtained free of charge. Panthers usually ask local businessmen to donate food or money to this program, boycotting stores that refuse to participate. At these functions, children have been known to sing such chants as: "I am a revolutionary. I am a revolutionary. There's going to be some barbecue if Huey's not set free. Power to the people."

In 1969, Panther "Coloring Books" were printed and given out at these breakfasts. The books contained 22 pages of drawings teaching the children to distrust, hate, and kill police officers.

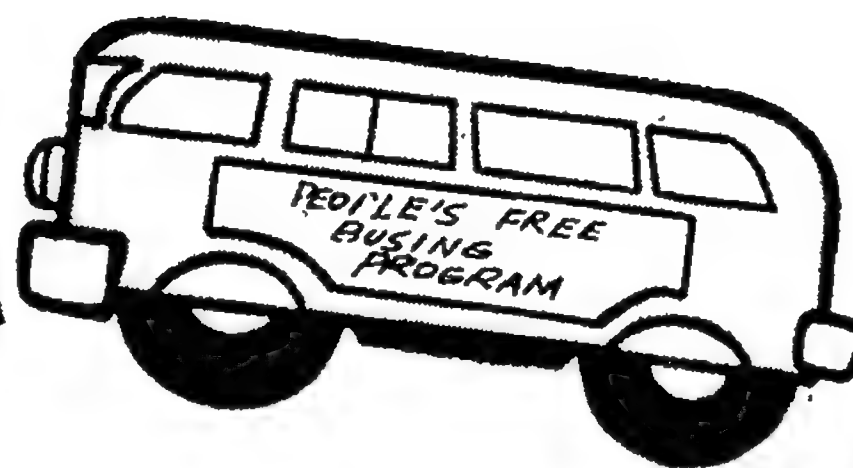


## SURVIVAL PENDING REVOLUTION

HUEY TOLD ME THAT THE PEOPLE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING REVOLUTION. BUT WHILE IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING THE REVOLUTION, HUEY SAYS, "WE THE PEOPLE ARE THREATENED WITH GENOCIDE, BECAUSE RACISM AND FASCISM ARE RAMPANT, NOT ONLY IN OUR COUNTRY BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

HE SAYS, "WE INTEND TO CHANGE ALL THAT. BUT IN ORDER TO CHANGE IT, THERE MUST BE TOTAL TRANSFORMATION. BUT UNTIL SUCH TIME THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE THAT TOTAL TRANSFORMATION, WE MUST EXIST. IN ORDER TO EXIST, WE MUST SURVIVE; SO THEREFORE WE NEED A SURVIVAL KIT." SO THAT WE CAN GROW UP HEALTHY WITH A MIND THAT CAN BE FUNCTIONAL AND CREATIVE.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
YOUR COMRADE IN ARMS







BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## VII. TACTICS

The Black Panther Party is a violent revolutionary group whose members provoke confrontations with law enforcement officers and whose leaders incite racial hatred and preach urban guerrilla warfare.

### *Target: Police*

Panthers claim that black communities are occupied by the police in the same way and for the same purpose that foreign troops occupy conquered territory and that these forces, operating under "establishment" orders, are engaged in gradual annihilation of the black race. Blacks, according to the Panthers, must, through urban guerrilla warfare, use guns to liberate themselves from the ever-present repressive enemy. Children in Panther "schools" do their exercises to the rhythm of: "There is a pig upon the hill – if you don't kill him the Panthers will."

Numerous claims have been made that the Black Panther Party is an innocent victim of police persecution and genocide. This charge is rendered absurd by fact. During 1970, 6 police officers were killed and 22 wounded through acts of violence traced to the Panthers. One officer, in 1969, was killed by a Panther with a shotgun blast at point-blank range as the officer lay wounded and helpless on the ground.

Out of 20 members named by the Panther Party as "killed in cold blood" by the police, four were killed by members of a rival black extremist group on the west coast; one died of barbiturate intoxication; one was shot and killed by a store owner during a robbery attempt; one was killed by his wife over a love affair he was having with a female Black Panther; and another was allegedly tortured and killed by Panther Party members. Of the remaining twelve, two were found dead on the street, the victims of unknown assailants, and ten were involved in shoot-outs with police officers.

### *Attacks on Others*

Panther attacks have not been limited to the police. While claiming their intent to protect the black community, Panthers have assaulted and threatened citizens who have tried to assist the police.

Neighborhood stores have been forced to "contribute" food supplies and money under fear of Panther violence. Many other persons have also been victimized, as shown by the fact that in 1969 alone 348 Panther members were arrested for serious crimes, including murder, armed robbery, rape, bank robbery, and burglary.

On April 21, 1969, 21 members of the Black Panther Party were charged in New York in a 30-count indictment with conspiring to bomb public places and murder policemen and with possessing dangerous weapons.



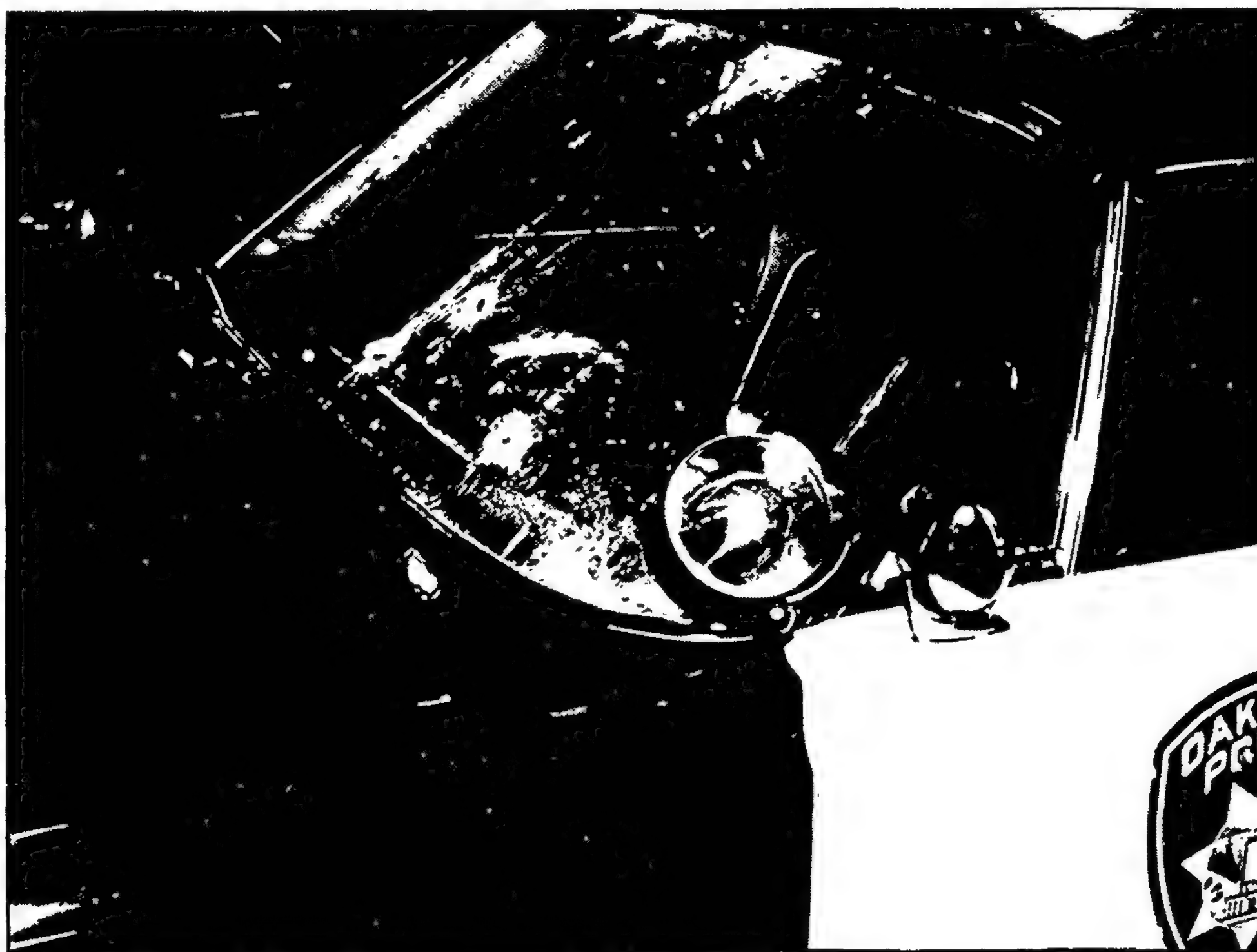
## *Weapons Caches*

Stockpiles of machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, rifles, hand grenades, thousands of rounds of ammunition, Molotov cocktails, gunpowder, and accumulations of bayonets, swords, and machetes have been confiscated from Panther offices.

## *"Revolutionary Suicide"*

On August 7, 1970, Superior Court Judge Harold Haley, the Deputy District Attorney, and three other persons were tied together with piano wire and dragged from a San Rafael, California, courtroom and taken as hostages by three armed Negro convicts, one of whom was standing trial for stabbing a San Quentin prison guard. The escapees were assisted by the defendant's 17-year-old brother who supplied them with weapons for the escapade. Judge Haley, who had a sawed-off shotgun taped to his neck, and the other hostages were forced into a waiting van. When the authorities tried to stop the kidnappers, the judge was brutally murdered; the Deputy District Attorney was injured seriously; and another hostage was slightly wounded. Three Negroes were slain and one was wounded.

Immediately thereafter, Huey Newton declared the killing of Judge Haley as being of "historical" importance to the Black Panther Party. This declaration was based on the Panther belief that all black prisoners, regardless of their crimes, are political prisoners and should be released.



OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, POLICE DEPARTMENT CRUISER INVOLVED IN THE APRIL 6, 1968, GUNBATTLE WITH MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



CONFISCATED PANTHER WEAPONS

The perpetrators of the courtroom incident were lauded by the Panthers as setting another "revolutionary example for black people." In commenting further, *The Black Panther* of August 15, 1970, stated:

*"The example that these brothers have set will be followed by many and many will rise to choose revolutionary suicide rather than reactionary suicide. Black people will unleash in great numbers the Black kamakazi..."*

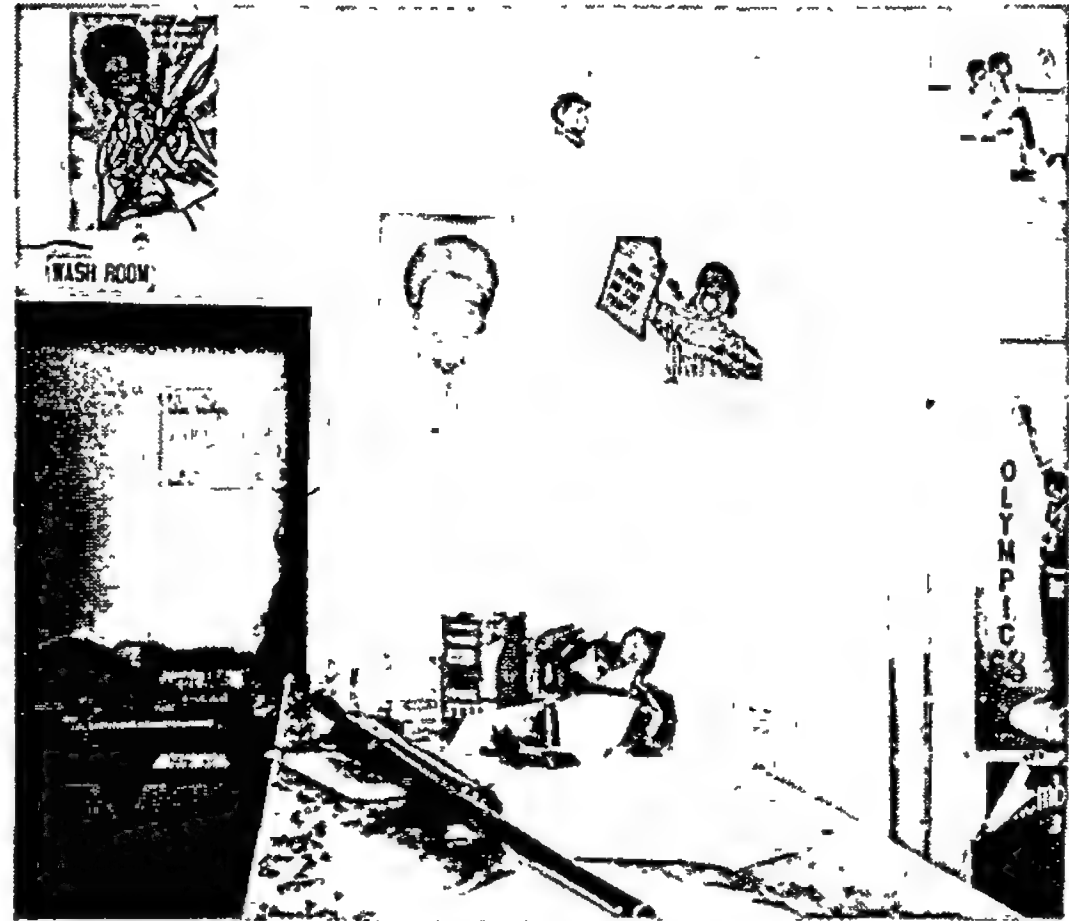
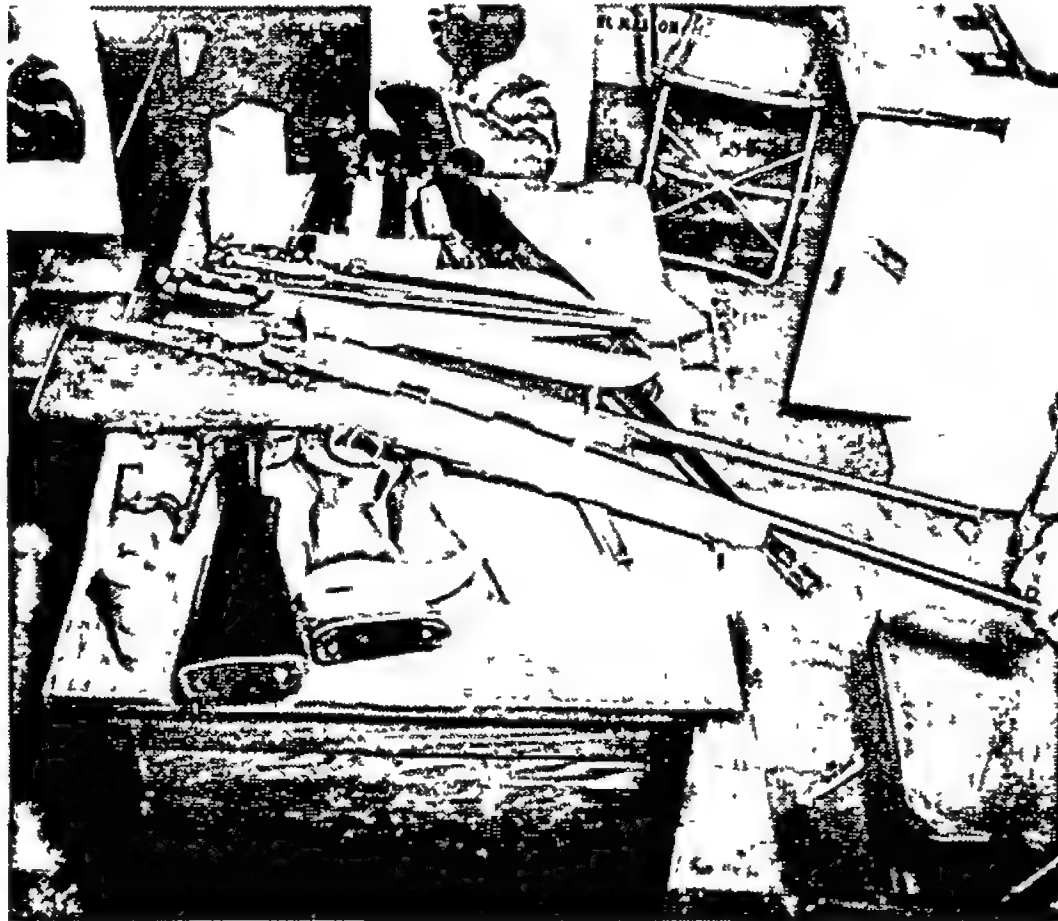
In his eulogy at services for the slain Negroes, Newton said: "Our comrades have taught us all a revolutionary lesson. They have intensified the struggle and placed it on a higher level."



## Panther "Justice"

Recalcitrant members of the Black Panther Party are sometimes victims of Panther "justice." As one example, Panther Chairman Bobby Seale was brought to trial in New Haven, Connecticut, for the torture-murder of Panther Alex Rackley. Rackley, a Panther suspected of being an informant, was scalded, murdered, and dumped in a swamp.

For a variety of reasons, many members have been purged from the Party. These incidents are usually written up in *The Black Panther* in special articles accompanied by photographs.



PANTHER HEADQUARTERS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 4, 1969



# EXPELLED

So let this be heard throughout the black community, of Atlantic City, New Jersey. That Leonard Weeks is no longer a servant of the people. That he is no longer the breakfast coordinator for this community



WEEKS, EXPELLED

center, or for that matter no center ran by the Black Panther Party. He has become slip-shod in his duties as a servant to the people,

many times he has been warned by his comrades, about his work, and about his duty to the people's children. He deserted the children of the black community, there were days he would not attend the breakfast program, because he said that he was tired or that he overslept. Well we cannot adhere to this because as revolutionaries we must prepare ourselves to be a match for a hundred. We must prepare to run ourselves to death if need be, so that the people shall be served, and to see to it that they truly have a right to the best. And we have no time for slip-shod niggers. We must hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act, and every policy must confirm to the people's interest, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected, that is what being responsible to the people means.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Black Panther Party N.C.C.F.  
Community Center  
Atlantic City,

# FOOLS RUSH IN

Harold Wright, number one fool in Pittsburgh, rushed out of here and into Baltimore.



HAROLD WRIGHT, FOOL

The National Committee to Combat Fascism has no time for crazy dumb fools who run around pimping off the people's just struggle for freedom and self-determination. This modern day mad man can't seem to find himself or anything else for that matter. He started

out, helping to put this office together and after a long train of was put out. Harold didn't like this and started to hang around our office trying to give the community the impression that he was still a member of the revolutionary ranks of Babylon.

After a few days of the breakfast program, his wife Michelle decided that she loved Harold more than the people and went with him.

We say goodbye to the Wright family and other love birds (like the Johnson's) who can't deal for the people.

So let this be heard, Harold and Michelle Wright are not members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism nor will these fools ever be.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
National  
Committee to Combat Fascism  
574 Brushton Ave.  
Pittsburgh, Penn.  
(412) 242-4728

The Black Panther,  
June 20, 1970, p. 8.





BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## VIII. PROPAGANDA

Although posters, pamphlets, recordings, and a singing group called "The Lumpen" are among propaganda vehicles used by the Black Panther Party, the main channel to the public is through their official organ, The Black Panther. Funds permitting, it is published weekly in Oakland, California. It includes editorials by Party leaders and spokesmen; provocative slogans; inflammatory articles; revolutionary art," comprising cartoons; and an international news section.

Excerpts from Article carrying  
Typed Signature of Eldridge Cleaver.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1970 PAGE 4

### TO MY BLACK BROTHERS IN VIET NAM

I'm writing this on January 4, 1970. We are starting out a new year. On August 31, I'll be 35 years old. I'm married, and I have one child with another one on the way. I am in love with my wife and I would like to enjoy a happy life raising a family. But I am not free to live the type of life that I would like. Pigs--the racist fascist rulers of the United States--won't let me....

We appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of your people. Either quit the army, now, or start destroying it from the inside. Anything else is a compromise and a form of treason against your own people. Stop killing the Vietnamese people. You need to start killing the racist pigs who are over there with you giving you orders. Kill General Abrahms and his staff. Sabotage supplies and equipment, or turn them over to the Vietnamese people. Talk to the other Brothers and wake them up. You should start now weeding out the traitors amongst you. It is better to do it now than to allow them to return home to help the pigs wipe us out. Especially the Uncle Tom officers should be dealt with now, because the pigs will use them as effective tools against our people.

When you can no longer take care of business inside the army, then turn yourself over to the Vietnamese people and tell them you want to join the Black Panther Party to fight for the freedom of your own people. If you do cross over, you don't have to worry about the Vietnamese people abusing you. They will be glad to see you drop out of the army because what they want most in life is to stop the fighting in their land. You have a duty to humanity as well as to your own people not to be used as murderous tools by racist pigs to oppress the people.

### "IF YOU WANT PEACE YOU GOT TO FIGHT FOR IT"

There's too many American flags out here, and our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, says that the American flag and the American eagle are the true symbols of fascism. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. Black power to Black people, Brown power to Brown people, Red power to Red people, and Yellow power to Ho Chi Minh, and Comrade Kim Il Sung the courageous leader of the 40,000,000 Korean people....

We say down with the American fascist society. Later for Richard Millhouse Nixon, the Later for all the pigs of the power

structure. Later for all the people out here that don't want to hear me curse because that's all that I know how to do. That's all that I'm going to do. I'm not going to ever stop cursing, not only are we going to curse, we're going to put into practice some of the that we talk about. Because Richard Nixon is an evil man. This is the that unleashed the counter-insurgent teams upon the BPP. This is the man that's responsible for all the attacks on the Black Panther Party nationally. This is the man that sends his vicious murderous dogs out into the Black

community and invade upon our Black Panther Party Breakfast Programs. Destroy food that we have for hungry kids and expect us to accept like that idly. that man. We will kill Richard Nixon. We will kill any that stands in the way of our freedom. We ain't here for no goddamned peace, because we know that we can't have no peace because this country was built on war. And if you want peace you got to fight for it.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Photograph accompanying Article  
indicated these are the Words of Chief of Staff, David Hilliard.  
THE BLACK PANTHER, November 22, 1969, p. 10.



# Editorials

Through editorials, readers are advised of Party positions on national and international issues and are presented with the opinions of the hierarchy on inter-Party matters.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1971 PAGE 2

## STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE, ON THE OCCASION OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY- MARCH 5, 1971

Power to the People, Brothers and Sisters,

First of all I would like to thank all of you for my very presence here, because if it weren't for the Power of the People, I wouldn't be here tonight. I'm not here because of the Black Panther Party; I'm not here because of any group, I'm not here because of a group of kamakazis. I'm here because of the Power of the People.

We must remember that Revolution is a process. It's not a conclusion; because once we conclude, then we become counter-revolutionary. And that means even with the gun in our hands, because fascism also has a gun. And I would like to say tonight that the Black Panther Party stands against all forms of fascism, including sexual fascism. That we are against all kinds of chauvinism, including racial chauvinism; we're against sexual chauvinism, national chauvinism. We're intercommunalists. Before I went to prison, most of you know, you are aware, that I never made any speeches, you see, because I'm not a very eloquent man. I'm better known by the actions. And the Party was built upon the actions. And the action itself is a process. And we're not ever fixated. We haven't accepted any dogma. And we will not.

And I would like to say this, that from now on the Party itself will be better known by its contributions to the People, for the simple reason that some people around us seem to want to be known through the Media. But the Party can only judge itself through establishing certain survival programs, pending Revolution. Because remember, you make the Revolution. We can't free political prisoners, only the people can free political prisoners. And a people who are not free cannot free their prisoners, cannot free the prisoners that fascism makes. So I would like to say that we must work very hard in order to lift the consciousness of the people. We must free our Chairman Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, the seven and the three, and all other political prisoners. Randy. We have to free all of them.

But we must remember that we must exhaust every possible tactic. And we must let it be known that never broad-

cast military tactics for military reasons. It's perfectly correct to broadcast military tactics for political reasons. That's what Uncle Ho said, and I agree with him. So we would like for the people to know that there are many things that we will not discuss in public. But what you can do is watch the fruits of our work. And we would like to say that our Party became an intercommunal Party upon its actions. And I think that's very good. So I'm asking you in order to free all political prisoners, free the people, free the woman and also the man, that we have to get together in unity by substituting verbal expressions for action. The final test of the pie is the action. We'll stand on the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party from 1966 when it was formed will stand on its record, will stand on the action. We won't claim to be ultra-leftists; we won't claim to be infantile leftists. What we'll do is act in accordance with the particular set of conditions and the particular problem that we have at a time. So please judge us upon our actions and we will develop like that. We will not develop with lip service coming from anyone. And sometimes I'm very thankful that I don't talk too well, because that's only one way of communication. We say that a picture is worth a thousand words, but action is supreme.

But what kind of action you take will depend upon the particular set of conditions. And I say all of this, because you know the Party and the world today is under turmoil. And this is very good. We always have welcomed all forms of contradictions. Because without the contradiction there is no transformation. So from the contradiction that has developed now in the world and in the Party, we hope to have a qualitative leap. If this leap eliminates some of us, then, of course, we'll weep for that. But we must not stop the Revolution. I will not stop the Revolution. You should not stop it. And, for all that it's worth, we know that words will never stop it. Words will not start the Revolution either. Only action. 'Sixty-six kicked off the armed manifestation of Revolution in this country, because it focused upon the need for the People not only to defend themselves, but also to develop a consciousness necessary to perform and to act

to be able to fight in a protracted war. And that is why it is necessary for us to develop the correct ideology, which is a system of thinking. And we must not rely upon and conclude with the philosophy, which isn't necessarily a conclusion.

So we're ideologically revolutionists. We're in a constant state of change. And we fight with all people who want to change, because we know change will offer our hope. So after all of this, we must pay more attention to what is happening. The news media has attempted to discredit the Party by saying that it's over, because they don't see anyone. I think our programs are better than the Party. The communities are involved in forty-four cities. We must support these; we must expand them. Because I read an article, recently, a few months ago, where Che had some problems in Bolivia, because the peasants were so unconscious until he could not rally them even with the "focos". They did not understand why the military, the regular military was dropping. So what did he do. He attempted to form certain programs that he called survival programs. He attempted to form a free health program in order to get the peasants inside, to help them, and also to provide things for his focos. He also took to form a free breakfast program, a free shoe factory, and a sporting good store (for obvious reasons). So programs are good. Because an act that might be revolutionary might be counter-revolutionary, if the correct preparations are not made.

So to be a serious revolutionist, we must know that we are involved in a process, and not a set of principles or conclusions that are of face-value revolutionary. I do not know one thing that is revolutionary in itself. And all things might be revolutionary in context. In other words, capitalism was revolutionary when it kicked out feudalism. And now we have a situation where the capitalists have become the imperialists, and the people of the world, of the communities of the world will have to kick them out. So in order to free Angela, Bobby, Ruchell Magee and all other political prisoners, we must kick the fascists out. And we cannot do it with lip service.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE



# BOBBY SEALE : "I AM THE CHAIRMAN OF ONLY ONE PARTY."

March, 1971

This is Brother Bobby Seale, from the New Haven Courthouse, back in jail, back here. And I just wanted to say to the people, the masses of people, to all the brothers and sisters, Women's Liberation Movement, Black brothers and sisters, Chicano brothers, the Puerto Rican brothers, the young revolutionary White youth in America, and especially, all the Black brothers and sisters in the Black community, that I've seen a lot of things happening; and I've took time to analyse what's happening. And I see presently that there's some divisionary, counter-revolutionary actions going on. Now the Party accepts constructive criticism. Constructive criticism! But the divisionary, counter-revolutionary actions and jive tactics of Eldridge Cleaver is doing nothing but aiding the pig power structure. Aiding the pig power structure in their attempt to put in gas chambers and jails over 130 political prisoners, who are presently, like myself and Ericka, caught up in these jails, and are being railroaded to the gas chamber, where we're fighting for our lives in these trials. And this is the only thing that Eldridge's actions are doing. This is the only thing that I can see that is going on. And my analysis shows this.

There is no split in the Black Panther Party, at all. But the main thing that we want to get across, I want to get across, to the people is that the Party is based on Survival Programs to serve the people, and these survival programs - from Breakfast for Children to the recent programs that I'm designing right here in jail, in my time that I'm not in court, which is a decent housing fit for shelter of human beings program - these are survival programs - and this program and all other programs that all other revolutionary organizations have are survival programs, that must sustain the people so the people can wage a revolutionary struggle.

And Eldridge Cleaver, who's denouncing these types of programs and carrying on with all those other divi-

sionary jive tactics, is negating the real meaning of a People's revolutionary struggle. That's why the Black Panther Party belongs to the people, because the survival programs come forth, and we set up the survival programs to sustain the people's revolutionary struggle. Even the Vietnamese people, if one would check it out, have their survival programs; they have their cooperative, functional survival programs throughout their land, amongst their people. The people just don't have guns alone fighting their battle. The people over there have actual everyday, functional, constructive survival programs. In their countries, in their lands, and in their everyday operations in fighting the capitalist pigs who occupy their country, they have survival programs. And those survival programs sustain the revolutionary struggle there. Of course, our survival programs will be directly related to here in America. But I, myself, send solidarity and support to all the socialistic, revolutionary peoples of the world, and the socialistic countries and lands - and the different war zones, where the people, the masses in those lands, are fighting against the capitalistic, imperialistic ruling class circles.

And Eldridge Cleaver - who negates the very survival programs that the Party is trying to set forth, that the Central Committee is trying to set forth, and all the real dedicated, hard-working brothers in the Party are trying to set forth to educate the people and serve the people, these survival programs ( that) sustain the people's



to the gas chambers. He's aiding the power structure and causing us to be in the prisons, because the political prisoners are the ones who really initiate and work hard to maintain the survival programs for the revolution, the people's revolutionary struggle.

Only the masses of the people can really free political prisoners. And the people must see the value and the validity of the survival programs. And getting on down to it, so the people can understand where it's at, so that the people, even the supporters that we have all over Europe, all the solidarity committees that are in Europe, that're in Sweden, that are in Denmark, and other countries over there, who support the freedom of political prisoners in this country, who support the survival programs of the poor oppressed people in this country, and the revolutionary movement (who are initiating these programs), I am trying myself to get people to understand, that we are beautifully behind them and we are glad and send greetings to them and praise the people who are in the solidarity committees in other countries, and in fact here in America, here in America-KKK-a. I think that the people really have to understand who and what the Black Panther Party is, so that these reactionary, counter-revolutionary, divisionary tactics will not be misunderstood. The Party is not falling apart. It's just that Eldridge Cleaver has personally defected his own self from the Party. He defected from the Party.

And I, Bobby Seale, am the Chairman of only one Party. And that Party is the Party that Brother Huey P. Newton is the Minister of Defense of and one of the supreme, top servants of the people; that Brother David Hilliard is the Chief of Staff of; that Brother June Hilliard is the Assistant Chief of Staff of; that Bobby Hutton was a member of, before the pigs murdered him. I am the Chairman of only one Party, that Brother Fred Hampton, who loved the survival programs for the people, was Deputy Chairman of. I'm the Chairman of only one Party, who Brothers Jonathan Jackson and George Jackson are members of. I'm the Chairman of only one Party, of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party, with Huey, David, and the rest of the brothers and sisters on the Central Committee, where the Central Headquarters happens to be located on Peralta Street in Oakland,

(California). So All Power to the People. Right On. And we're going to stick together. We ain't coming up with no jive. We have to free Brothers Ruchell Magee, George Jackson; we have to free Sister Angela Davis; we have to free these brothers and sisters. I am the Chairman of only one Party, the Party that Brother Huey is the Minister of Defense, with David Hilliard, June Hilliard, etc. And we're going to free political prisoners; and, we're going to keep these survival programs going; and, we're going to wage a People's revolutionary struggle, and not no jive, individualistic, defecting actions, by some individual who wants to play power games. I am the Chairman of the Party of which the San Quentin Cadre is apart and parcel of the same Party. The San Quentin Cadre of the Black Panther Party.

So all I have to say to the people is that you know where it's at. We're going to stick in solidarity. There're a bunch of jive renegades and jack-a-hapes around. But later for that. Just later for that. Let that ride, cause we got survival to get on with, and a People's revolution to mobilize. And we got political prisoners to free all over this land.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
RIGHT ON!



## Inflammatory Articles

Many of the articles in *The Black Panther* are written by local Party members and concern regional incidents and issues. They are aimed at provoking national black sympathy and joint retaliation for magnified grievances against the authorities.

### RACIST-MAD PIGS SIG K9 POLICE DOG ON BROTHER

On Friday night, March 27, 1970, 14 yr. old Brother John (Little Hot-Rod) Hargrove became the victim of a brutal attack inflicted by a K9 Police dog. This brother along with two other bloods were playfully chasing each other along the sidewalk in the area of Sixth and Snyder Streets. When the brothers approached the corner, one brother ran past brushing against a lady standing at the corner. When this happened the lady immediately grabbed the brother. The two other bloods kept running. Soon after the pig grabbed the brother, a light colored station wagon appeared. In the station wagon were two plain clothes pigs. These pigs immediately proceeded to hand-cuff the blood, beat him in the face, and unleash a vicious police dog that ripped the flesh off the brother's body. As the brother tried to escape the blows of the pig beating him in the face, the K9 proceeded to bite him all over his body. While the brother was being beaten by the pig, and attacked by the dog, the other pigs who came along proceeded to chase the other two bloods. The pigs fired a shot barely missing the forehead of one of the brothers.

Little Hot-Rod, handcuffed, face badly beaten and suffering from dog bites all over his body, was taken to the local police station where he was booked on suspicion of pick-pocketing. He did not receive any medical attention until several hours later at the Philadelphia General Hospital; there they gave him one tetanus shot and put a bandage on each leg. The pig who

created the vicious attack was later identified as one of Rizzo's faggot law and order boys of the GRANNY PATROL. The Granny Patrol is a special segment of piggery which employs pigs to dress up as women so that they can arrest suspected pick-pockets.

The party conducted an interview with the bloods who were fortunate enough to get away, we also spoke with the brother's parents, and were able to visit the brother at the Youth Study Center. We also spoke with the people in the community who witnessed the horrid incident!

Following are excerpts from the tapes which describe the incident. We cannot use names here of the bloods because it has been passed down that the pigs are trying to round up the other brothers.

The racist pigs approached the brothers by shouting "Get them niggers, get them niggers!" They chased the bloods with butcher knives, and what appeared to be an ax. One brother was hit with a pipe in the stomach.

People in the community responded to the arrest and attack angrily. When several people in the community demanded that the pigs call off the dog, they were met with racist remarks from the pigs.

The attack was so vicious, the dog ate the underwear on the brother's body. In addition to bites on the brother's hands, legs and waist the dog also bit the brother in the back and rectum. The brother suffered from severe beatings by the pigs, in the face.

When Little Hot-Rod was visited on Sunday at the Youth Study Center, his body was not healing properly. He related that the nurse only applies mercuriochrome on the bites. He is suffering from soreness. He is sleeping on hard cots in the over-crowded center. The bites on his body are swollen and inflamed. The brother's first remarks to his family were, "Tell my probation officer to get me out of here, this place is like Byberry".

Just less than two weeks ago, the brother was beaten in a cell Division. This pig beat him so bad that Methodist Hospital complained to the Police Department. His eyes were badly damaged. The pig's name who inflicted that beating was Juvenile Aid Officer, Charles Kora. Hot-Rod identified Kora as his assailant and since then, he has been harassed in his neighborhood by every pig who comes through.

At 14, John Hargrove is a marked victim of Frank Rizzo's fascists, like so many other Black youths in this city. Pigs are on the loose to inflict more physical harm to our people. It is high time that we escalate our war on the pigs and drive them out of our communities.

Seize The Time people of Philadelphia, Rizzo and all of his racist paper tigers can be rightfully blown away.

Rosemarie Mealy  
Philadelphia Branch  
Black Panther Party

THE BLACK PANTHER, APRIL 18, 1970, P. 9.



# NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY BOMBED, HEROES SUCCESSFULLY ESCAPE



Newburyport, Mass. is a small residential New England town basically composed of people from the White working class. Until last Saturday, September 19, Newburyport's only claim to fame was that it is one of the many small towns surrounding Boston which are strongholds for groups like the Minutemen and other right-wing fascist reactionaries. Last Saturday, however, at 6:00 a.m. in the morning a National Guard Armory was bombed, hundreds of rounds of ammunition ripped off, military personnel records taken and to top it off, they left the scene in a one ton army pick-up truck. They (the bombers) attempted to open the vault holding

the weapons of the pig army, M-1 rifles, .45 caliber pistols and .30 caliber sniper carbines, but were not able to do so. The act was accomplished in one fast motion, and the heroes escaped capture and one week later, "law enforcement officials" are still scratching their heads in wonderment.

And although the weapons, themselves, tools of our liberation were not liberated from the oppressor, the success of this action cannot be denied.

As has been the case in liberation movements all over the world, the guns and arms made by and for the oppressor eventually end up in the hands of the oppressed. More important, the unknown people who accomplished this act, obtained hundreds of rounds of desperately needed ammunition. Again, past experiences has shown that while the guns themselves can be obtained in ample supply, the ammunition, the bullets, that actually inflicts death upon our enemy, becomes very scarce. One of the necessities of our struggle is our ability to liberate, stockpile, and then accurately use the ammunition of our oppressor upon our oppressor.

As for the military personnel records, they can obviously be put to good use. Our oppressors must be harassed and intimidated day and night. They must not sleep, nor rest, these are the devils who plot the genocide of Black people. The National Guard Armory in the small town of Newburyport, like other small time towns surrounding the Black colony in Boston is designed to be used against us in the fascist genocidal plot devised by the treacherous minds of the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell clique. It is to be carried out by those men whose names and addresses are now in the hands of the people. Unknown members of the fascist majority now appear before the people's tribunal and will be judged according to their actions.

This action is just one of many blows which will be dealt out to the oppressor. If this action was intended to help and serve the people, we welcome their help to our just liberation struggle against the Babylonian Empire.

**ARM YOURSELF**

Michael Fultz  
Boston Chapter  
Black Panther Party

**SISTER MURDERED IN  
COLD BLOOD BY  
RENT-A-PIG**

**FIVE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE RAILOADED  
BY TUCSON GRAND JURY**

**STORM TROOPERS INVADE COMMUNITY**

**THREE PIGS BEAT  
FIFTEEN YEAR OLD  
BLACK YOUTH**

**ENTIRE FAMILY BEATEN AND JAILED**

Another regular feature in *The Black Panther* is a weekly article giving detailed instructions for the handling of firearms, or setting forth deportment for urban guerrilla warfare.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1970 PAGE 16

## ORGANIZING SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS HOW TO COMBAT C.M.I.

### Part 5

The principal of Juche (Self-Reliance) clarified by Eldridge Cleaver, the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, is "Use what you got to get what you need." To answer the question of how do you combat the pigs' C.M.I. (communication, mobility and information), we must first determine what we have going for ourselves. Checking out the prac-

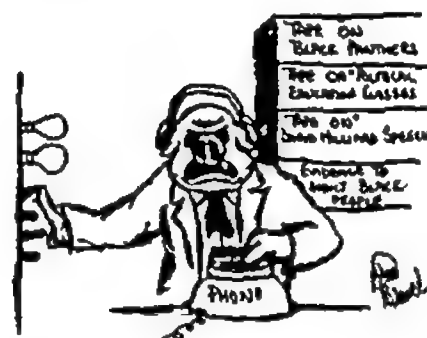
slogan must be Maximum Damage to the Enemy, Minimum Damage to Us. Practice has shown that when planning W.W.H. if it is done with knowledge and an understanding of C.M.I., casualties will be kept within an acceptable minimum. Too often, much attention is given to a plan up to the point of execution without giving the same attention to evasion and escape, that phase of the operation that determines success. This is a subjective approach, a onesided approach, W.W.H. is only one side of the coin, C.M.I. is the other side. Because self-defense groups use W.W.H., the pigs' C.M.I. does not go into operation until a self-defense group commits itself by actually executing some type of self-defense activity.



COMMUNICATION



MOBILITY



INFORMATION

tice of self-defense groups, we see that we have the power to determine what is to happen, when it is to happen and how it is supposed to go down. What, When and How (W.W.H.) - the element of surprise. The pigs have C.M.I. and self-defense groups have W.W.H.

To consider a self-defense operation successful is not to just plan and execute but to plan, execute AND escape. There have been too many instances where members of self-defense groups have planned and executed righteous blows against this racist system only to be captured, wounded or killed. These are the consequences for revolutionary activity, however we must keep casualties within an acceptable minimum. The

All of us should be aware that once C.M.I. is activated pigs start showing on the set from 30 seconds to 1 minute maximum in every major city in Babylon, therefore the success or failure of a defense operation is dependent upon the attention given to C.M.I. and the planning of evasion and escape. As I see it, learning to deal with the pigs' C.M.I. is the number one military problem facing revolutionary forces in Babylon today. It is time for all who have something to teach, by example, to step forward. And remember, to die honorably, one does not need company.

USE WHAT YOU GOT TO GET WHAT YOU NEED  
D.C.

**ALL POWER  
TO  
THE PEOPLE!**

## ORGANIZING SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS

### Part 6 ON REVOLVERS

Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 have been in previous issues of the Black Community News Service. This article is on revolvers, it gives a basic run down on the use of revolvers. Check out all of the photographs and notes to help you understand better the functioning of a revolver.

#### SAFETY PRECAUTIONS:

1. Check to see if gun is loaded. You do this on a revolver by swinging out the cylinder. Pull back on the cylinder latch and gently push out on the cylinder. (See unloading a revolver photo #2)

2. Keep your finger off the trigger unless practicing trigger squeeze or firing.

3. Point your gun away from where someone may be shot. Point at the ceiling or to the floor, but wherever you point, make sure no one is in the way and can be harmed.

4. Never leave the hammer cocked on a revolver. (Explanation later on cocking a revolver.)

#### KINDS OF REVOLVERS:

.38 Snubnose - This gun has only a 2" barrel and shoots 38's. It

is very easy to conceal.

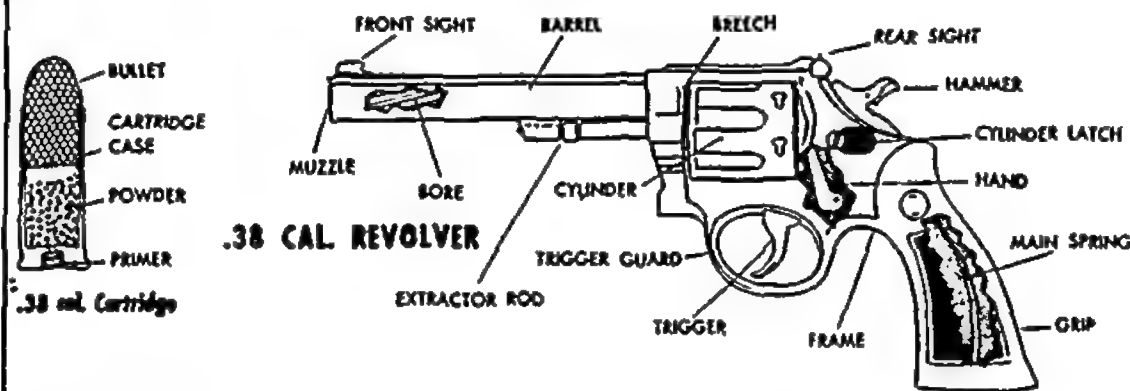
.38 Special - Has a 4" barrel and shoots 38's.

.357 Magnum - This is the type of handgun the pig carries. The ammo for this is .357 magnum. Metal piercing bullets will pierce an engine block. This is the best type of revolver to have.

.41 and .44 Magnums - Have more knock down power than a .357 Magnum. The Highway Patrol carries these to shoot through car doors, but a .357 will go through a car door also and .357 ammunition is more plentiful.

#### PARTS OF A REVOLVER: PHOTO # 1

#### REVOLVER TERMS



#### UNLOADING:

Holding gun in left hand (pointed in safe direction) release cylinder latch with right hand. (#3). Push out cylinder with the fingers of left hand (#2). Now that you have swung out the cylinder and the bullets are visible you gently push down on the extractor and let bullets drop out into your right hand (#4).

#### LOADING:

To load, simply follow the same steps in unlatching the cylinder. Then drop bullets into the chambers of your cylinder. Gently push cylinder closed, and you are ready to fire. DO NOT SLAM CYLINDER CLOSED, this causes extra wear on your gun.

#### COCKING A REVOLVER:

Put the tip of your thumb on the hammer holding revolver steady in the palm of your hand. Do not put your finger in the trigger. Pull straight back steadily on your hammer spur until your hammer locks back. You gun is ready to fire, do not put your finger in the trigger until you are ready to fire. After cocking hammer, place your thumb directly on the frame beside the hammer, resting the tip of your thumb on the cylinder latch. (Photo #4) Your forefinger should be placed on the other side of the gun straight out just above the trigger guard until ready to fire. Everytime you cock the hammer before firing, this is called single action firing.

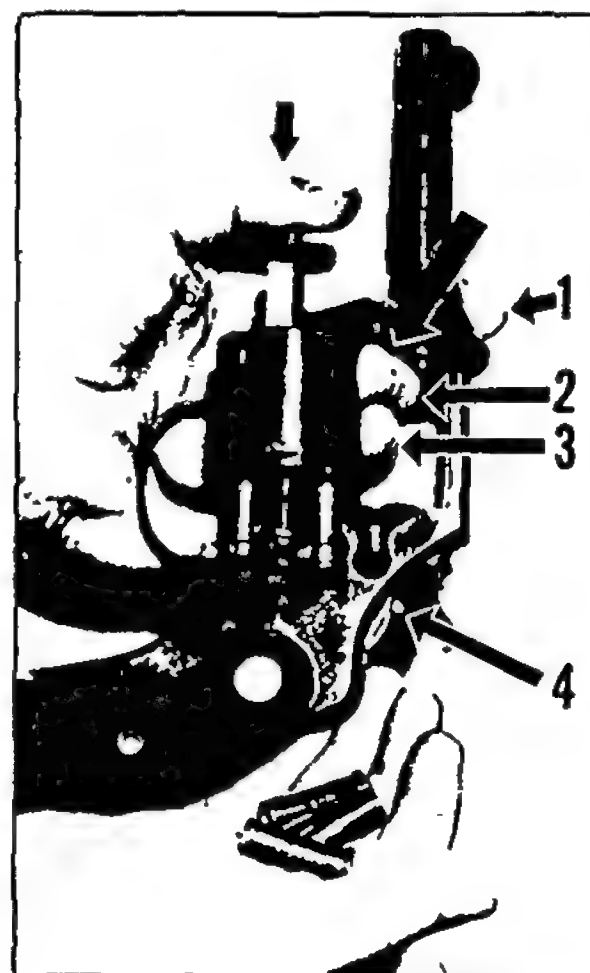


PHOTO # 2

#### UNCOCKING A REVOLVER (LOADED):

hand, pointed in a safe direction. Keep your finger off the trigger! and thumb firmly on the hammer (still cocked) squeeze the trigger slowly until you can feel the hammer releasing. IMMEDIATELY



LOADING A REVOLVER PHOTO # 3



COCKING A REVOLVER PHOTO # 4



# URBAN GUERRILLAS

America's complexity will be her downfall, for complex power, communications and transportation networks are unprotected. These systems are the lifelines of the industrial and military might of U.S.A. fascism. The source of America's strength is its vulnerability. Therefore urban guerrillas, utilizing and relying on information divulged by sympathetic workers, can halt or severely cripple every industry in the nation, and bring fascism crashing to its knees. The dams, power stations, substations and power lines are vulnerable. Highly sophisticated communications networks are used by our enemies for carrying out routine business, and are an extremely important factor, in the fascist reaction to guerilla strikes. The neutralization of the fascist communications lie within the capabilities of urban guerrillas.

The disruption of this system would hamper and cripple not only the fascist military but would also effect all industrial outputs. The fascist ruling clique realizes the vulnerability of their transportation networks, yet all fascist military forces and industry utilize the railways, the state and interstate highway systems and the airports. Urban guerrillas can cut and constantly harass these important links.

Urban guerrilla teams highly motivated have already begun to put their theory into practice. Lists are being compiled and are constantly updated on fascist and all enemies of our people, because the location and identification of the enemy is an extremely vital task of urban guerrillas. This basic intelligence is necessary for planning retaliatory strikes against our enemies. Where their killer groups, for the most, will be unable to locate guerrillas, urban guerrillas will, in every attack hit the fascist squarely on the chin. Urban guerrillas, being one with the people, must attack like skilled brain surgeons--cutting out the diseased tissue while perserving the good.

Their dual purpose is that of destroying all fascist forces and their lackeys, while protecting and serving our people. The fascist ruling clique fears this. They know the Party is preparing to fight until the last of our enemies bites the dust. The Party has dared to take the vanguard role in the struggle and will surely defeat U.S.A. fascism no matter what the odds, no matter how great the sacrifice. The Party is aware that the fascists will never lay down their arms of their own accord. And also aware of the direction that U.S.A. fascism is taking in order to survive as long as possible.

In Brazil, the guerilla forces found through social practice that they could best achieve the goal of liberating their people from the

strong-hold imposed by the fascist Brazilian oligarchy by waging urban guerilla warfare. Brazil's development as an industrial fascist nation and the economic and social backwardness of the indigenous peasants made the revolutionary forces adapt the strategy of urban guerilla warfare. The urban guerrillas moved to mobilize the workers, and implement urban guerilla warfare within the context of their historical experiences with the working class and the fascist ruling class oligarchy. The revolutionary forces have implemented this type of struggle which invariably catches the fascists with their pants down. The type of warfare which turns the asphalt concrete and steel of cities into jungles; the cemeteries for the fascist highly mechanized units and turns his weapons of mass slaughter into paper tigers; into urban jungles where the revolutionary forces can plunge the blade into the hit in the vulnerable life lines of even fascist U.S.A. in this country as well as in Brazil the fascists tremble with dread at the thought of nationwide attacks by urban guerilla forces.

In the Pentagon and select centers scattered throughout the U.S.A., gigantic multimillion dollar computers are manned by hoards of the military. Technicians wrestle with fascism's nightmare--the problem of dealing with urban guerrillas. These machines can only reach an hypothesis drawn from information fed into them. In order for the fascists to test the solutions offered by the computer, they must first circumvent



the frail facade of the constitution and the bill of rights. The fascists realize that if these two pieces of paper were implemented they would be in their graves tonight because the constitution and the bill of rights contain the moral impetus necessary to bring this foul evil economic and social system to its doom.

U.S.A. fascists have compiled and are still evaluating information received from South American satellite states who are being beset by courageous urban guerrillas waging relentless struggle with amazing (to fascists) and stunning success. Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, has said that we still have a little time left because the U.S.A. fascist ruling clique hasn't programmed all of the people to accept the genocide of the Party and our people yet. For at least a year now, there have appeared in every major newspaper, seemingly innocent space fillers. Articles from UPI-APL dealing with the deployment of fascist death squads against the revolutionary forces in South America.

These fillers had the sinister purpose of preparing America for the advent of death squads now in operation in every major urban center. These articles were to prepare the people to accept the first overt actions of the Chicago foul fascist gestapo killer unit. Their

objective was to evaluate the response of the people to above ground counter-insurgency killer groups--to see if the people were conditioned to accept the outright fascist terror tactics directed officially by the fascist ruling clique.

Our Party has been and is still the main target of a national dehumanizing campaign. The fascist controlled news media has consistently maligned, viciously attacked and branded our Party as a racist band of blood-thirsty murderers out for their own personal gain. The fascist news media seeks to justify the fascist's program of destroying our people's first line of defense, the Party, and all other organizations which refuse to be either bought off with blood money or intimidated by the repressive fascist forces. The fascist attempts to isolate our Party from the people has been a dismal failure. The liquidation of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Mark Clark had top priority on the fascist's pig list. However, neither the people nor our Party were cowed or intimidated by the bestial slaying of these two revolutionaries. The fascist ruling clique made a grave error in underestimating the will of the people and our Party. People from all walks of life and every progressive organization saw through the fascist attempts to isolate and destroy their Party. The people mo-

Angeles, Southern California, Chapter of our Party, came under attack by fascist killer groups. Although outnumbered and using inferior weapons, our Party repelled and held at bay the fascist shock troops and sounded the end of Chicago type operations in a fuselage of bullets. We learned valuable lessons paid for with the blood of our revolutionary comrades. The fascist ruling clique has seen the support, that their homicidal raids have generated for the Party. They now know that if conditions are favorable, they will receive tit for tat and then some. They now know that Black and all progressive people will not sit idly by and pacify the action of above ground killer groups. Fascists have tried to rally the support of the American people to their avowed aims and failed.

Now begins the phase of underground, clandestine operation of fascist directed killer groups. This is all part of the nature of the fascist ruling clique. The fascists will no doubt expand the techniques of their South American lackeys who operate unrestricted, unswayed by either democratic institutions or public opinion. As the tempo of the struggle increases so will the fascist acts of reactionary terror and violence increase. The primary target of forming clandestine kill groups will be both our people and our Party. If we are to survive as a people, this next phase of attacks, and pave the way to victory, it is imperative that our people be armed with the ideology of the Party. For only then will our people be able to cope with, both, ideological and physical attacks initiated by the insane fascist ruling clique. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, said that our Party must be a living shield that stands between our people and the fascist pigs and that our paper should serve to educate our people so that they will survive.

As the attacks against the Party escalate, so must the awareness of our people be channelled toward acceptance and even more, active participation in urban guerrilla warfare. Phase two of the fascist plans will surely and soundly be defeated. The fascists will awake to find themselves bogged down on that last front. They will be swallowed up in the morass of a people's war. Their graves will be dug by revolutionary urban guerrilla forces amidst the asphalt, concrete and steel of the cities.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
DEFEAT U.S.A. FASCISM ON  
EVERY FRONT**

**WE'LL ALL BE TOGETHER ON  
THE DAY OF VICTORY**

Randy Williams,  
Political Prisoner



### **REVOLUTIONARY HANDIWORK OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA**

predawn kill all--destroy all mission was launched as a pilot, an experimental operation with a two fold objective. One was to put counter-revolutionary theory into practice in America --to bring in to the streets the fascist ruling clique's solution to the Party--to test and evaluate the techniques of counter-insurgency urban warfare. The second important

bilized and rallied mass support for the Party and soundly condemned the actions of Chicago's fascist killer groups.

Make trouble, fail, make trouble, fail again until their doom. This is the logic of fascists the world over. In Chicago, they refused to acknowledge the bankruptcy of their counter-insurgency campaign. In December, in Los

## Provocative Slogans

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

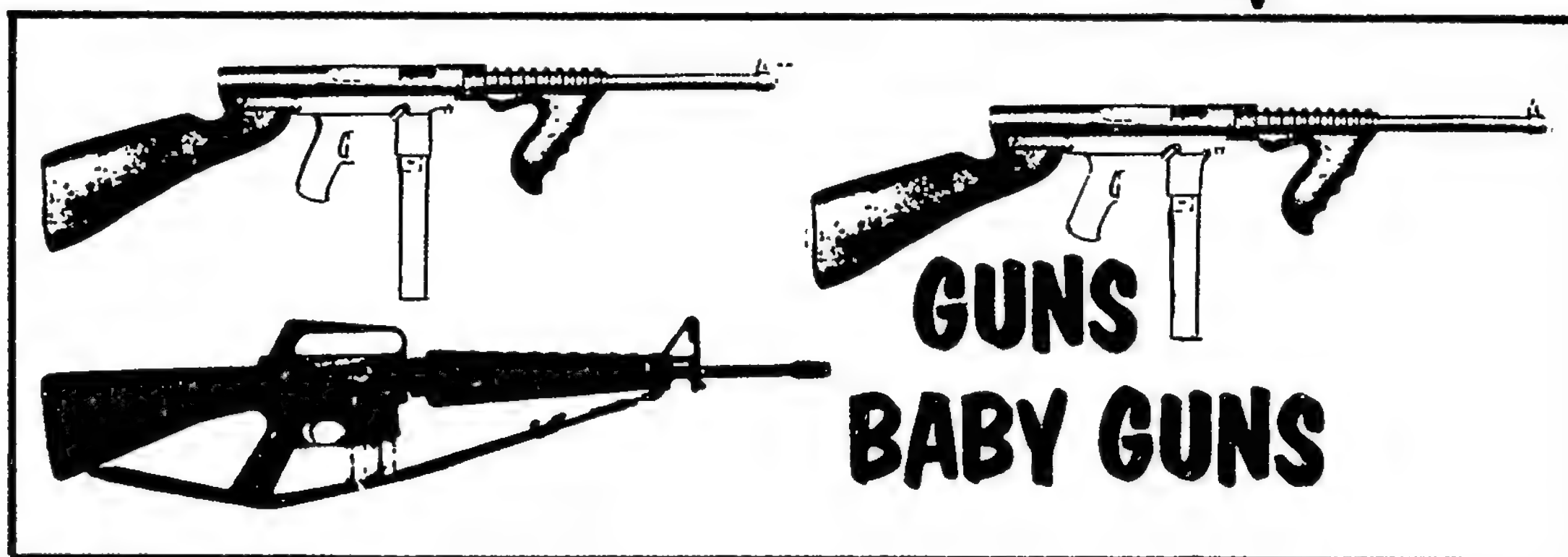
SEIZE THE TIME, BEFORE TIME  
SEIZES YOU!

AN ATTACK AGAINST ONE IS  
AN ATTACK AGAINST ALL

BLOOD TO THE HORSES BROW  
AND WOE TO THOSE WHO CAN-  
NOT SWIM!

DARE TO STRUGGLE...DARE  
TO WIN!

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS



FOR EVERY PORK CHOP THERE  
IS A FRYING PAN!

## "Revolutionary Art"

The most prominent artist on *The Black Panther* staff is Minister of Culture Emory Douglas. Although he prepares a large number of cartoons, other Panther artists are also represented. These cartoons characterize the Government and local law enforcement as "pigs" and call for the overthrow of the Government and the killing of Government officials, as well as police officers.



## THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST

When the Black revolutionary artist starts a still life painting, he doesn't see a beautiful vase, or a dish of tasty fruit, against a soft velvet backdrop...he sees only a tattered curtain, rusty cans, a broken dish--empty.

As he seeks out a beautiful landscape to paint, he sees not fertile fields with dancing flowers, and lovely maidens bathing in the sun, but decaying houses, and streets covered with debris, and a Black woman in ragged clothes with tear-stained cheeks.

The Black revolutionary artist

knows only oppression, and that his art must relate to his surroundings, and his people, and most of all, his art cannot be abstract and unrelated to his revolutionary people. So he seeks, and finds what our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton calls "the spirit of the people." As he moves on that, he shows what Revolutionary Artist and Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas shows--"the oppressor hanging by his heels."

The revolutionary artist gives his art to his oppressed people. So with his gun and his brush he

shows the spirit of the people moving to crush the oppressor, and this is the essence of revolutionary art. His art then becomes part of the people's revolution.

He knows that only because of the urine covered walls and trash-littered alleys the people's desire for freedom will be replaced with the BLOOD OF THE OPPRESSOR.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Malik Barafu  
N.C.C.F.,  
Washington, D.C.

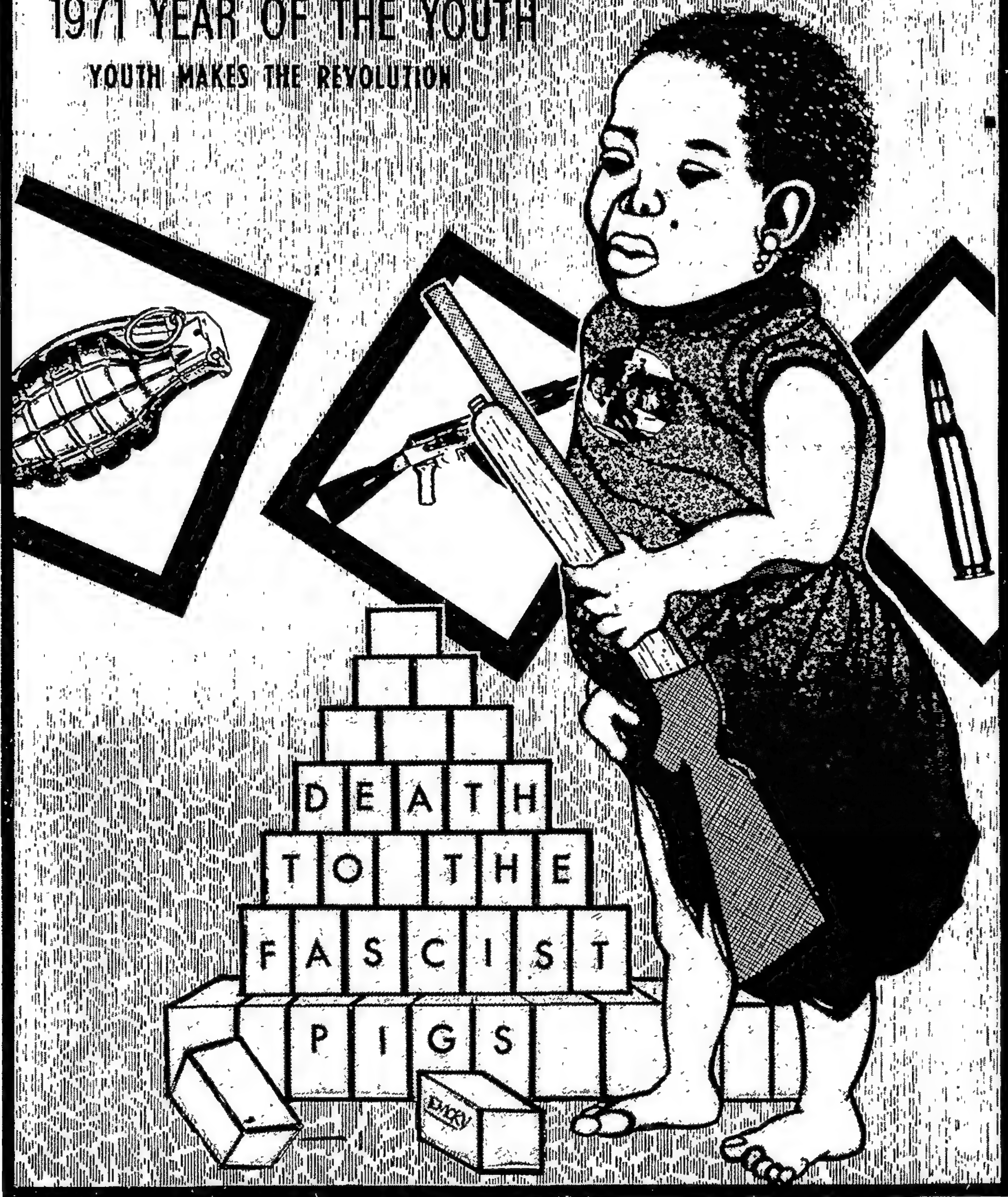


## TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY ARTISTS

*I would like to take this time to express on behalf of the Black Panther Party our warmest thanks to all revolutionary artists who have given their talents and thoughts to the people through revolutionary art. We would like to say that every artist's work that has appeared in the Black Panther Newspaper this past year has been a great contribution of visual interpretation of the ideology of the Black Panther Party and of the oppressed people of the world.*

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS  
Emory Douglas  
Minister of Culture  
Black Panther Party

1971 YEAR OF THE YOUTH  
YOUTH MAKES THE REVOLUTION





EVERY DOOR THAT THE FASCISTS ATTEMPT TO KICK  
DOWN WILL PUT THEM DEEPER INTO THE PIT OF DEATH



SHOOT TO KILL

DEATH TO THE  
FASCIST PIG



THE BLACK PANTHER  
OCTOBER 3, 1970, P. 9.

THE BLACK PANTHER  
OCTOBER 17, 1970, P. 16



THE BLACK PANTHER  
MARCH 20, 1971, P. 4



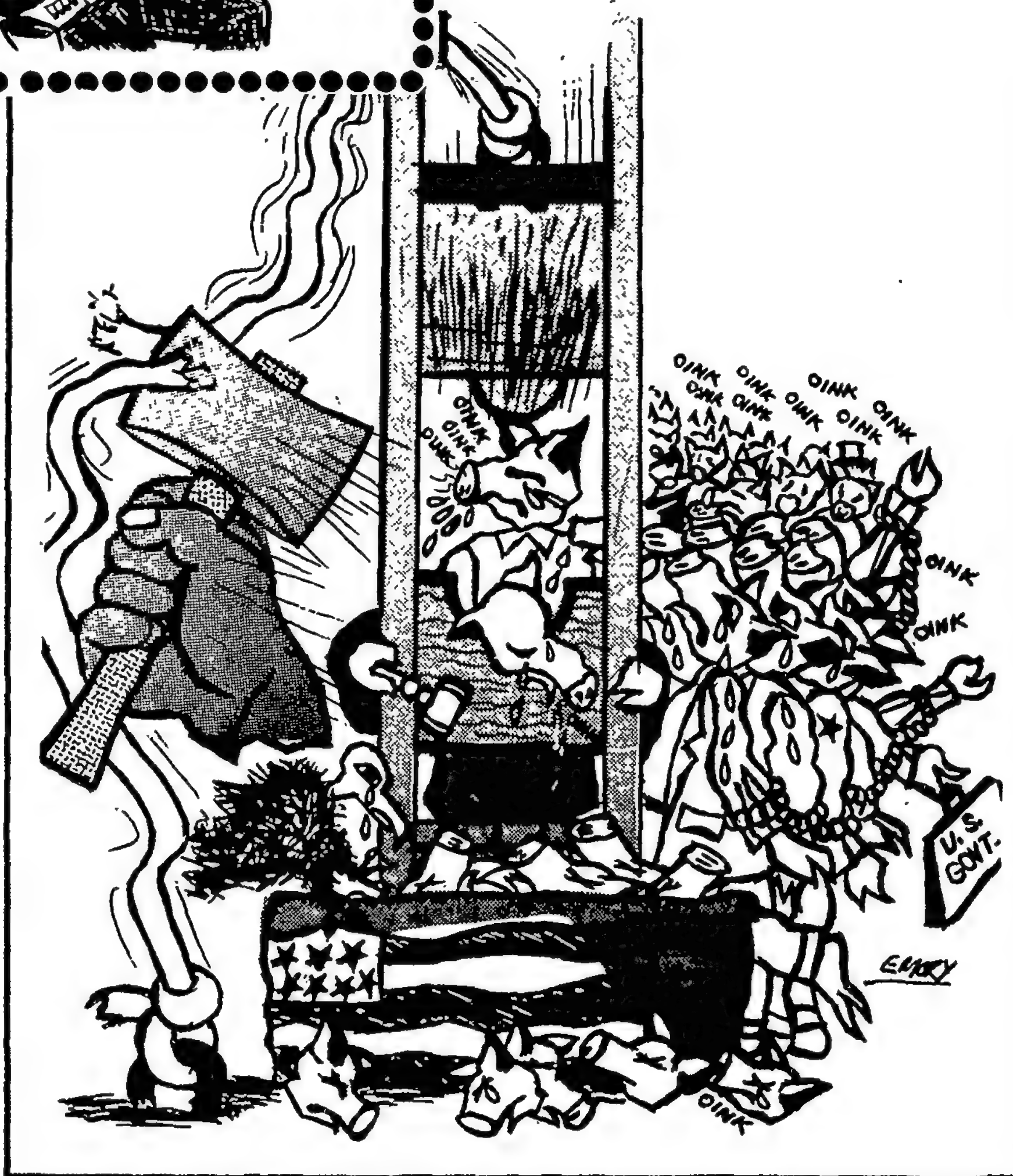


*We will not hesitate to kill  
or die for our freedom.*

THE BLACK PANTHER  
FEBRUARY 6, 1971, P. 5



THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1970 PAGE 13



## International News

Panthers profess to believe that American Negroes comprise isolated "colonies" in the heart of the "mother" country, and are part of the Third World, defined as the nonwhite, undeveloped, and underdeveloped countries of the world. The 10-Point Program of the Black Panther Party includes, as a major political objective, a United-Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony to determine the national destiny of American Negroes.

To internationalize their Party and enlarge their importance, Panther leaders have sought acceptance, support, and funds from sources abroad. They have made numerous trips to foreign countries, including Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Palestine, Germany, France, England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Soviet Union, North Korea, North Vietnam, and the Chinese Mainland.

Both at home and abroad, Panther leaders loudly proclaim anti-American sentiments and align themselves politically with the aims and tactics of enemy lands. The international contacts most important to the Panthers are made with revolutionary groups and communist countries, especially those that more closely follow Maoist thinking. The international news section of *The Black Panther* reflects attempts by the Black Panther Party to attract such attention, support, and aid.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1970 PAGE 8

### TELEGRAM TO COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

KIM IL SUNG  
PREMIER OF THE CABINET  
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES RE-  
PUBLIC OF KOREA

June 25th marks the 20th anniversary of the U.S. imperialist aggressive invasion of the DPRK in 1950.

The Black Panther Party takes this occasion to salute the DPRK and the wise and brave leader of the 40 million Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung.

We recognize and respect the long history of resistance and victory that Comrade Kim Il Sung and the 40 million Korean people have contributed to the world wide struggle against imperialism and fascism; the shining examples of socialist construction while under severe conditions of U.S. provocation and aggression, the many brilliant ideological contributions you have made to the socialist camp and in particular the concept of "Juche".

Because of our historical experience in America; because we are faced with no alternatives but genocide or liberation we understand the criminal nature and gangster logic of the U.S. ruling

class. Black people are increasingly the victims of overt military aggression and U.S. plots to subvert our struggle for national salvation. Under these conditions we have an increasing awareness that the expulsion of the U.S. imperialist burglars from Korean soil and the reunification of Korea will be a victory for the Korean people and a victory for oppressed people the world over.

We see clearly that the reunification of Korea is not separate from the salvation of Black and other oppressed people in fascist America. As gang boss Nixon and his mob of criminals intensify their attempts to loot Asia they are intensifying their murderous repression of Black people in America. These attacks will be met with revolutionary solidarity manifested in action, both around the world and in the gangsters lair, and with one-beat-a-hundred fighters in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and North America; the U.S.A. will surely be brought to the peoples JUSTICE.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
U.S.A.





## MEMORANDUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LAO PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THE ESCALATION OF THE U.S. WAR OF AGGRESSION IN LAOS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LAO PROBLEM

### PART II

#### Application Of The Nixon Doctrine And Escalation Of The War Of Aggression In Laos By The Nixon Administration

UNDER PRESSURE FROM PUBLIC OPINION, NIXON ON MARCH 6, 1970 HAD TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRESENCE OF U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL, THE LOGISTIC AND AIR SUPPORT AND "OTHER ACTIVITIES" OF THE U.S. IN LAOS. He also admitted an increase in the U.S. military activities in Laos, but he tried to argue that those activities were "limited" and of a purely "defensive" character aimed at protecting American lives in South Vietnam.

But public opinion in the United States and in the world immediately pointed out that that was the first time the highest executive in the United States made an open acknowledgement of the violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos by the U.S. On March 7, Senator Albert Gore declared that Nixon in fact had conceded that "we (the U.S.) have violated the Geneva Agreements". Public opinion has condemned Nixon's allegations as "queer" and "self-contradictory" (the Japanese paper "Asahi Shimbun", March 9, "Nixon's allegations were misleading. They mentioned only some facts and not everything and showed no sign of any charge of policy." (Senators Scranton and Fulbright, March 6 and 9, 1970).

Obviously, Nixon cannot dupe public opinion while he bases his judgement not merely on the words but also on the deeds of the Nixon administration during the recent past.

After Nixon came to power, the so-called "Nixon doctrine on Asia" saw the light which consists in providing more U.S. advisers, weapons and firepower to the Asians, while the latter contribute more mercenaries for the U.S. The formula of this doctrine is "native soldiers plus U.S. advisers and maximum logistic and air support". This is in fact a more elaborate and more refined form of U.S. neo-colonialism's wicked policy of making Asians fight Asians, and natives fight natives.

The active application of that



The Resistance government formed in 1950 against the French Colonialists.

doctrine in Laos finds a concrete expression in the steps of escalation taken by the Nixon administration in its aggressive war in Laos during the past 18 months, escalation in the logistic supply, in the supply of U.S. military personnel and in the use of U.S. combat troops in the "special war".

Under the Nixon administration, the amount of U.S. aid to Laos and military personnel introduced into this country have increased at almost the same rate. Compared with the 140 million dollars in 1967, U.S. aid in 1969 rose to 250 million dollars of which only the economic and technical aid accounting for less than 60 million was announced, while the rest was almost exclusively used for military purposes. Thus, military aid - about 190 million dollars a year, - is more than twice the economic aid and makes up 80 per cent of the total aid. This figure is approximately the same as estimated by Senator A.J. Allender in a censured report on the scale of American involvement in the war in Laos (AF, Jan. 22, 1970). It is necessary to note that what is described as "economic and technical" aid has also been used for secret activities of a military character. On June 7, 1970, J.V. Hanna, Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, disclosed that the U.S.

aid program also covers the CIA activities in Laos. At present, according to a statement of Senator M. Mansfield on September 21, 1969, U.S. aid in Laos had exceeded 700 million dollars a year and continued to increase. Obviously, the Nixon administration is squandering in Laos more and more money of the American people, while serious social problems in the United States are yet unsettled, because enormous sums are being spent for unjust wars in Laos and in Indochina as a whole.

On March 6, 1970, Nixon said there were 643 advisers and military personnel out of the 1,040 Americans operating in Laos and denied the presence of any U.S. combat troops in Laos. That is not true. Compared with the 5,000 U.S. military personnel in Laos under the Johnson administration, the figure rose to 12,000 U.S. military personnel, with or without military uniform in the first period of the Nixon administration. Of them, there were at least 2,000 air force advisers, or 800 more than in 1967.

The number of U.S. advisers assigned to the "special forces" training centres and regular units of the puppet army increased from 150 to 1,000 (according to a British source, the figure might be 2,000). The U.S. "special forces" operating in southern Laos are estimated at

about 1,200 men. Thus there is one U.S. military adviser for every six Laos puppet soldiers (compared to the 70,000 men of the Vientiane army). In addition according to a statement of Senator R. Ottinger on April 24, 1970, at least half of the 45,000 U.S. air force personnel in Thailand (i.e. 24,000) are now directly participating in air activities in Laos. All told, the number of U.S. military men now taking part in military activities in Laos on the ground and in the air has run into tens of thousands at least equal to half of the total effectiveness of the Laos puppet army.

The running of the U.S. colonial war machine in Laos remains an affair of the U.S. embassy, Nixon's ambassador to Vientiane remains a military proconsul. The paper "France Soir", on March 3, 1970 said everything in Laos is controlled from the building of the U.S. embassy which houses the brain of the war machine. Then under the army and air force military attacks of the U.S. embassy exceeds 200, an unusual figure for a foreign diplomatic mission in a country like Laos. The USAID agency in Laos is also operating within the framework of the U.S. diploma-

tic mission in Vientiane and is working for the CIA (France Soir, 1970). J.V. Hanna acknowledged that Laos is the only place where such direct U.S. military aid did not approve it.

Of late some 120 U.S. "green berets" were introduced into Laos, whose combat units are (Thailand), U.S. soldiers in Vietnam on February 27, 1970. A large number of U.S. "green berets" in Laos had exceeded that of U.S. military advisers in South Vietnam in the past. In the 1969 and early 1970, U.S. combat troops took part in ground attacks on the plans of Laos road, Meng Kham province. The U.S. magazine "Newsweek" of April 6, 1970, flattered that the CIA office in Laos was now the only U.S. office in Laos to have a direct contact with the Viet Nam mercenaries and was working for the U.S. and the U.S. war.

Without a doubt, there have been more U.S. military advisers in Laos in the past. On March 6, 1970, Senator Mansfield stated that "the U.S. military advisers in Laos are fighting a losing battle". "The fact that the U.S. military advisers in Laos are fighting a losing battle" is one thing. The fact that the U.S. military advisers in Laos are fighting a losing battle is another thing.

continued on next page



New textile factory at Sam-Neua



## ON CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG'S DECLARATION OF 20 MAY, 1970

In this declaration, Chairman Mao Tse Tung has set forth a brilliant and timely analysis of the qualitatively new situation that exists in the world as a result of the treacherous new acts of aggression launched by the fascist, imperialist Nixon-

Chinese peoples.

This declaration pulls together into clear focus the revolutionary struggles and the liberation struggles of the people of the whole world, including the revolutionary struggle of the American people themselves.

Speaking specifically for the Black Panther Party, but reflecting the sentiments of millions of oppressed people inside the United States, it has become crystal clear to us that rampant imperialist aggression on the international scale and vicious fascist repression on the domestic scale are the two faces of the criminal government of the United States and the calculated policy of the American ruling circles. For 400 years now, Black people inside the United States have been the long-suffering victims of fascist violence and repression. But under the Nixon-Pentagon clique, this reactionary violence and repression has been escalated to new heights of barbaric cruelty. At the same time, in order to put down the already gigantic and still growing mass movement among White Americans against the wreckless and sanguinary policies and imperialist adventures of the U.S. government, the cowardly Nixon-Pentagon clique has unleashed a bloodbath against the American people as a whole, creating for itself new enemies who have joined hands with those who were already determined to carry out a struggle to the bitter end against an economic, political, and social system that is dominated by the madmen in the Pentagon and that is responsible for the misery and bloodshed all over the world today.

Chairman Mao Tse Tung captures the truth of the situation when he points out the unprecedented isola-

tion of the Nixon-Pentagon clique. Never before have these criminals been so exposed and isolated as they are today. And never before has it been so clear that this criminality can only be ended by the people rising up to seize their own destiny from the handfull of willful exploiters and murderers that now have the power in their hands.

Coupling a revolutionary call to arms with revolutionary optimism in the assurance of victory, Chairman Mao Tse Tung, the great leader of the Chinese Revolution, hero and teacher of the revolutionary people of the world, has performed an invaluable service to all mankind by stepping forward at this time to renew the people's indictment of the common enemy of us all--U.S. Fascism and Imperialist Aggression. These courageous words of Chairman Mao Tse Tung will give new heart to the peoples in their lonely and difficult struggles to throw off the shackles and chains of oppression now being held in place by U.S. Fascism and Imperialism.

Lastly, we wish to point out that only the enemies of the people and those who shirk their revolutionary duties and who are afraid of their own shadows will find fault with Chairman Mao Tse Tung's declaration. For our part, we welcome it, because we have learned, by shedding our blood, that only through relentless struggle, by resorting to arms inside the very house of U.S. Fascism and Imperialism itself, can we gain our freedom and liberation. This is what our experience has taught us and this is the faith that will sustain us as we push forward our struggle..

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG!  
LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE  
PEOPLES' WAR!

DEATH TO THE U.S. FASCISM AND  
IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Eldridge Cleaver,  
Minister of Information  
Black Panther Party, U.S.A.

The Black Panther, June 20,  
1970, page 16



THE TERROR, BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF MY BROTHERS  
AND SISTERS IS THE SUFFERING OF BLACK PEOPLE.  
THEREFORE, NOT TO LET SUCH EVENTS CONTINUE I  
MUST MERCILESSLY DO AWAY WITH THE LOW -  
NATURED BEAST THAT BITES THE HAND THAT FEEDS IT.



WE HAVE NO HANG UPS ABOUT REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall

FROM : J. G. Deegan *JGD/WRM*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

- 3 - Mr. J. A. Metz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)  
(1 - P. V. Daly)  
1 - Mr. R. E. Gebhardt  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

DATE: 6/13/75

- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan  
1 - Mr. D. Ryan  
1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

This is to advise of a meeting with representatives of the Senate Select Committee (SSC) on 6/12/75 in my office in accordance with the request set out in Legal Counsel to Mr. J. B. Adams memorandum dated 6/4/75.

IS-1 Section Chief J. G. Deegan, Number One Man William H. Atkinson, Unit Chiefs Homer A. Newman, Jr., David Ryan, Garnett T. Tunstall, and Special Agent Paul Daly of the Legal Counsel Division met with Jack Smith and Lester B. Seidel of the SSC staff.

At the outset Mr. Seidel indicated that SSC would do case studies on various organizations against which the COINTELPRO was directed. Black Panther Party (BPP) had been chosen for the start because many BPP members had been involved in and convicted of criminal activity. He distributed copies of a document (a copy of which is attached) outlining the purpose of the meeting and setting out requests that will be made of the Bureau through appropriate channels in connection with this case study. Included in this document, along with requests for various Bureau documents regarding COINTELPRO as it pertains to the BPP, were requests for a list of all local police departments and personnel contacted, a list of all media persons contacted and a list of all FBI personnel connected with this program and their present locations.

The investigative responsibilities of the Bureau, as relates to the BPP, were described generally to Messrs. Seidel and Smith highlighting the origin of this violence-prone organization and the series of violent confrontations in which it participated in the late 1960s. Mr. Seidel stated that he was specifically interested in ascertaining the extent of COINTELPRO and how it related to the investigation of the BPP in San Francisco - Oakland and Los Angeles. COINTELPRO was stressed only as a procedure which could have been followed in the course of our investigation. No specific

Enclosures - 2

62-116395

GTT:eks (10)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP0Awm/mt

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: SENSTUDY 75  
62-116395

instances of institution of counterintelligence activities were discussed, and it was indicated that these activities were minor as far as the overall BPP investigation was concerned.

In connection with COINTELPRO, the Bureau letter to SAC, San Francisco dated 5/11/70 captioned "Counterintelligence and Special Operations" was discussed. Basically, this letter suggests San Francisco consider a proposal that through the use of documents subtly incorporating false information, attempt to give the BPP the impression that the documents were stolen by a disgruntled police employee who is sympathetic to the Panthers. This document was presented to the House of Representatives Committee on Internal Security in 1974 and was included in their publication of hearings conducted by that Committee. Messrs. Seidel and Smith wanted to know if the activities outlined in this letter had been implemented by the San Francisco or Los Angeles Offices. He was advised that this letter was not implemented as it had requested comments and recommendations of the San Francisco Office, and that Office had recommended against the proposals contained therein.

Mr. Seidel asked the identity of the SAC who recommended against this proposal and was advised that the SAC there, at that time, would not necessarily have had personal knowledge of the matter. He then asked identity of supervisor who recommended against proposal and was advised this information was available in the field office. Concerning COINTELPRO in general, he inquired as to specific techniques used against the BPP and whether forgery and wiretaps had been a part of the program. He was advised that we were unable to furnish that information without extensive file review.

Mr. Seidel attempted to discuss Special Operations but he was advised that the matter was not within the purview of the current meeting.

Mr. Seidel explained that they would be traveling to San Francisco and intended to interrogate personnel in that Office as well as unspecified outsiders who may have been involved in COINTELPRO. Mr. Seidel stated that he had asked for the meeting with Bureau personnel to obtain background data to aid them in these

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: SENSTUDY 75  
62-116395

interrogations. Both Messrs. Seidel and Smith expressed appreciation for the assistance given them at this meeting and both additionally expressed their feeling that the Bureau had done a good and proper job in its investigation.

During the course of this meeting a monograph on the BPP prepared by the Bureau in March of 1971 was used for background data. Mr. Seidel expressed a desire to have a copy of this document. This document, which is prepared from public source data, was compiled for public distribution and, if you approve, a copy will be furnished to Mr. Seidel.

ACTION:

For your information and if you approve, one copy of attached document entitled "Black Panther Party" will be sent to Mr. Seidel.

HEH/IGD

GTT

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

Get written request.  
Signed by Chairman  
of Committee  
W.R.

PLN

National  
Council

\* Per G.T. Tunstall, this document is not classified, made up of public source data, & until it became outdated, was furnished to the public.  
Revised to Sherry Towell <sup>SSC</sup> 6/20/75 for delivery to Seidel 6/19/75  
*[Signature]*

Black Panther Party: San Francisco-Oakland (Los Angeles)  
Late 1960's through early 1970's

The Committee is examining the extent to which this COINTELPRO program relates to criminal investigation; the results obtained; the relationships between the FBI and local authorities (police and other governmental agencies); media and community leaders; the methods of targeting; techniques used to achieve program goals; legal authority; and authorization procedures and accountability.

To pursue this inquiry, the Committee requests the following documents in this initial stage:

1. 90-day status letters and reports;
2. letter and other documentary requests for particular COINTELPRO techniques and the responses thereto;
3. amendments and supplements to 1 and 2;
4. all previously requested related documents (e.g., field office inspection reports);
5. a list of all criminal investigations directly or indirectly related to this COINTELPRO, with explanation of the dispositions thereof;
6. a list of all local police departments and personnel contacted relative to this COINTELPRO;

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DATE 10/11/2000 BY SP8 amj/mf  
m02-16

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-253



7. a list of all media persons contacted in relation to this COINTELPRO and their media affiliation;
8. a list of all FBI personnel connected with this COINTELPRO, their specific connection, and their present location;
9. all other materials the FBI feels is necessary for the Committee to have a full understanding of this COINTELPRO.

The following persons will be interviewed by the Committee; the Committee requests information as to the whereabouts, and relation to the FBI should be indicated:

1. Robert E. Gebhardt
2. Harry Morgan
3. David E. Todd
4. Charles Bates
5. primary case agent(s) responsible for this COINTELPRO in the field
6. Bureau supervisor for this COINTELPRO.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 6-4-75

FROM : Legal Counsel *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise that a representative of captioned Committee requested to be given a briefing concerning counterintelligence programs as applied to our investigation of the Black Panther Party in San Francisco.

Lester Seidel, staff member of captioned Committee who is assigned the area of COINTELPROS, advised that the Committee is preparing what he termed case studies on COINTELPROS in four separate areas. He defined these areas as the Black Panther Party in San Francisco, White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, the Professor Morris J. Starsky incident, and the Fred Hampton case (Black Panther Party leader in Chicago who was killed during a police raid in Chicago, Illinois).

Seidel previously had requested the Bureau arrange interviews of various Bureau personnel whom he considered familiar with the San Francisco Black Panther Party investigation, and at that time stated he intended to interview these individuals in two or three weeks. Mr. Seidel requested that prior to conducting interviews concerning this particular area, he desired to be briefed during the week of June 8 concerning the Bureau's general overall investigation of the Black Panther Party in San Francisco, along with the use of counterintelligence proposals against that organization. In this regard he desired that someone knowledgeable in this aspect be made available to brief him concerning this matter.

62-116395

REC-102

- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. Hotis
- 1 - Mr. Daly

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DATE 10/19/2003 BY SP2 DUM/lmc

MDR-16

12 JUN 24 1975

PVD:kjs (7)

CONTINUED - OVER



84 JUN 27 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Legal Counsel to Mr. J. B. Adams Memo  
RE: SENSTUDY 75

Mr. Seidel also stated that he was submitting a written request to the Bureau for certain Bureau documents pertaining to the COINTELPRO operations in the San Francisco Office and specifically mentioned requesting the quarterly status letters from that office on COINTELPRO.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) The Intelligence Division advise if a briefing can be arranged and the date and time of such a briefing.

2) Legal Counsel Division will advise Mr. Seidel of the Bureau's decision in this regard.

PVD  
IBH/PVD

WIZW/TUR

JK

PCH

Jm

Jm

*we should carefully consider fact that  
Hampson case is subject of pending litigation  
and coordinate with Dept. of Justice  
to ensure no specific information is provided*



~~SECRET~~

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

Intelligence Community Staff

DCI/IC-75-0620

18 JUN 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: USIB Ad Hoc Coordinating Group

SUBJECT : Request for Documents by SSC

Attached is a request for documents received by CIA from the Senate Select Committee Staff on 10 June 1975. It is provided to you for information.

JFK Act 6 (1)(B)

Acting Deputy to the DCI  
for the Intelligence Community

Attachment: as stated

62-116395

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17 JUN 23 1975

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MDR-16

CLASSIFIED BY 006805  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF E. O. 11652, EXEMPTION CATEGORY  
§ 52(1), (2), (3) or (4) (circle one or more)  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON  
Impossible to Determine  
(unless impossible, insert date or event)

~~SECRET~~

R223

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN O. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN  
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HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., MD.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

DCI/IC 75-9902

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

~~SECRET~~

June 10, 1975

Mr. Walter Elder  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Headquarters  
Langley, Virginia

Dear Mr. Elder:

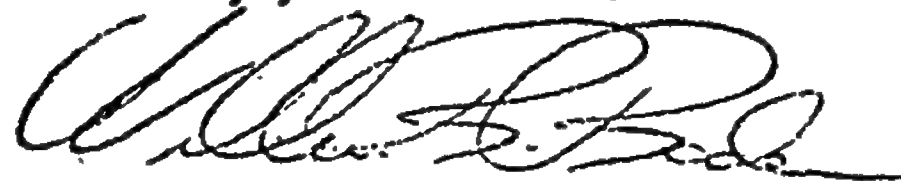
Further to our conversation regarding formal requests for documents and records, I attach a list of supplemental document requests.

What I would propose is that you and I discuss this list to insure that we have properly identified the requested documents.

In addition to the attached list I would like to review studies in the historical series:

(1) "Maritime Operations in Indonesian Operations -- 1957-1958;" "Overthrow of a Government, November 1952-1953;" and any studies prepared that trace the CIA's activities in relation to the overthrow of the government of Guatamala in 1954.

Sincerely,



William B. Bader

Attachment

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DATE 11/10/00 BY SP8 RUM/ML

MDR-16

ENCLOSURE

62-116385-

~~SECRET~~MEMORANDUM

To: Bill Bader  
From: Elliot Maxwell  
Date: June 9, 1975  
Subj: Supplemental Document Requests

1. The General Counsel's memo on February 3, 1975 on proprietaries mentioned in the briefing paper prepared for the Rockefeller Commission.
2. The Inspector General's Survey of Proprietaries from 1967.
3. Inspector General's Survey of Domestic Operations Division done prior to May 26, 1966.
4. The opinion on covert action authority of the CIA prepared by the Justice Department under Attorney General Katzenbach.
5. List of those individuals who worked with John Richards.
6. List of the component surveys from 1960 to 1970. (Approximately 50 studies)
7. The subject heading list, the keyword list, and the name list, used for filing in the Office of General Counsel.
8. The Bureau of the Budget Confidential Report on Intelligence and Security Activities of the Government, dated September 20, 1945. (HS/HC-71, Item 1).
9. The Report by William H. Jackson, on the Coordination of Intelligence Functions and the Organization of Secret Intelligence in the British intelligence system. This is a report for the OSS dated August, 1945. (HS/HC-801, Item 9.)
10. A list of titles of the National Intelligence Estimates and Special National Intelligence Estimates from January 1, 1970 to the present.

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DATE 11/14/00 BY SP8 RIM/JMC

MOE-16

62-116395-  
ENCLOSURE



11. The Office of the General Counsel memo on the subject "Text and Explanation, Public Law 110," dated October 10, 1952.
12. The Interim Report to the National Security Council by Dulles, Correa, and Jackson, dated May 13, 1948 and entitled "Relations Between Secret Operations and Secret Intelligence."
13. The paper by the Office of General Counsel on the Origins of the CIA, which is mentioned in the memo of the General Counsel of September 1973.
14. The two pages of General Vandenberg's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee outlining the clandestine collection function of the CIA, which were never published, a copy of which is now in the possession of Walter Pforzheimer.
15. An explanation of all the two-letter prefixes to the project names. (diographic)
16. The paper prepared by the Office of the Controller entitled "Historical Notes re: Budget and Finance Activities of CIA and Predecessor Organizations, 20 September 1945 through January 1952." This is identified as HS/HC-36, Item 2.
17. The history of the development of NSCID-5 by Mrs. Margaret Ehrmantraut.
18. Study on Major Policy Authorizations for the Conduct of Covert Paramilitary Activities by CIA, 1948 through 1966.\*
19. Draft bill written by Lawrence Houston in the Fall of 1946, entitled "A Bill for the Establishment of a Central Intelligence Agency," cited in the archives as HS/HC-805, Item
20. Detailed Budget Submissions and house notes prior to 1967.
21. (a) The transcript of the Senate Hearings on the CIA Act of 1949, cited Paragraph 7 OGC 73-2169, Memo for the Record, 20 November 1973, Subject: Payment to Richard Patrick Lippert;  
(b) Any documents relating to the inquiry by the Secretary of Defense in 1947 mentioned in Paragraph 8 of above memo.
22. Annex to the 1963 Inspector General's Report on Technical Services Division on Experiments with Drugs.

1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins

CODE

TELETYPE

NITEL

1 - Each Assistant Director

TO ALL SACS

JUNE 11, 1975 <sup>3 per SLP</sup>

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (62-116464)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

HOUSTUDY 75.

1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

REBUTELS MAY 2, 20, 1975, "SENSTUDY 75."

BUFILE 62-116464 AND CODE NAME "HOUSTUDY 75" DESIGNATED FOR ALL MATTERS RELATING TO HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND BUREAU'S HANDLING OF MATTERS PERTAINING THERETO. USE THIS FILE NUMBER AND CAPTION FOR MATTERS RELATING TO HOUSE COMMITTEE AS SEPARATE FROM SENSTUDY 75 FOR MATTERS RELATING TO SENATE COMMITTEE.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SFP:mjgmy  
(19)

JUN 10 1975

TELETYPE

NOTE:

Referenced teletypes advised field of our pledge of full cooperation with Senate Committee and issued instructions concerning handling contacts with Senate Committee Staff as well as handling of matters relating to interviews with present and former Bureau employees. Inasmuch as we have opened a separate file under Houstudy 75, it is believed this teletype would assist in prompting better management of correspondence between Bureau and field.

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DATE 10/19/00 BY SP-10/16/00

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOT RECORDED  
JUN 23 1975  
46 JUN 23 1975



May 23, 1975

1 - Mr. Wannall  
(Attn: Mr. Schwartz)

Mr. Morton H. Halperin  
122 Maryland Avenue, N. E.  
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Mr. Halperin:

Reference is made to my letter to you dated April 8th, regarding your request for the "Delimitation Agreement of 1948."

Coordination of this matter with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has disclosed three documents which are pertinent to your request. It is my understanding that two of the three documents have been released to you by that agency, and I am enclosing with this letter, the third document. You will find this letter dated October 2, 1948, from former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to Mr. Frank G. Wisner, then the Assistant Director for Policy Coordination, CIA, contains certain deletions. The material deleted refers to the same material excised in one of the two documents furnished to you by CIA, and concerning which CIA asserted exemption provisions found in Title 5, United States Code, Section 552 (b)(1) and (b)(3). These provisions relate to matters that warrant classification and those which are specifically exempted from disclosure by statute. It is considered appropriate for the same exemption provisions to be cited by this Bureau in connection with the deleted portion.

You have thirty days from receipt of this letter to appeal to the Attorney General from any denial contained herein. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Attorney General (Attention: Office of Information Appeals Unit), Washington, D. C. 20530.

TEB:dm (7)

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46 JUN 30 1975

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845002 1 Doc 132989606 Page 174

GPO 251-546



Mr. Morton H. Halperin

The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Following the Attorney General's decision, judicial review is available in the district of your residence or principal place of business, or in the District of Columbia, where the records are situated.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

Enclosure

1 - Freedom of Information Act Coordinator - Enclosure  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Mr. Charles Saviage  
Washington, D. C.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attn: Susan M. Hauser

NOTE: See copy of H. C. Flemister memo to Mr. W. R. Wannall, dated 5/7/75, captioned "Morton Halperin, FOIA Request," copy of which is attached. The material CIA requested to be excised has been deleted as described in this letter, and the Bureau file copy of the letter is not classified. Contact with CIA FOIA Section discloses the deletion of the material in the CIA letter dated 9/22/48 accomplishes the declassification of those documents. This has been coordinated with Intelligence Division. The original Bureau document is found in 65-48066-9.

*Delivered to  
CIA - 5/27/75  
WFS*

~~SECRET~~

1 - W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. J. P. Lee

CODE

TELETYPE

IMMEDIATE

TO SACS NEW YORK  
BOSTON  
DETROIT  
LOS ANGELES

MIAMI  
SAN FRANCISCO  
SEATTLE  
WFO

JUNE 18, 1975

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

~~TOP SECRET~~

SENSTUDY 1975; BUDED: JUNE 24, 1975.

THE FOLLOWING REQUEST FOR INFORMATION HAS BEEN ADDRESSED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO FBIHQ FROM THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES: " . . . THE FOLLOWING REQUESTS PERTAINING TO THE TECHNIQUE REFERRED TO AS 'MAIL SURVEILLANCE, INCLUDING MAIL COVERS AND OPENING MAIL' AND THE UTILIZATION OF THIS TECHNIQUE 'IN INTERNAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION, AND/OR COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS, OPERATIONS, OR ACTIVITIES:' (1) FOR ALL INCIDENTS OF MAIL OPENING OR MAIL INTERCEPT BY OR ON BEHALF OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FROM JANUARY 1, 1960, UNTIL THE PRESENT, PLEASE STATE THE PHYSICAL LOCATION WHERE THE OPENING OR INTERCEPT WAS CONDUCTED, THE NAMES OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE OPENING OR INTERCEPT, THE TYPE OF MAIL OPENED OR INTERCEPTED,

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

JPL:jdp  
(4)

CLASSIFIED BY SP2 PMJ/mf  
DECLASSIFY ON: 05 1  
MDR-16

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

REC-75

62-116395-249

JUN 18 1975

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JUN 20 1975

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84 JUN 25 1975  
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Page 17

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~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO ~~TOP SECRET~~

AND THE PURPOSE OF THE OPENING OR INTERCEPT. (2) FOR ALL INCIDENTS OF MAIL COVERS THAT WERE PHYSICALLY CONDUCTED BY FBI EMPLOYEES, WHETHER ALONE OR IN COOPERATION WITH POSTAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES, FROM JANUARY 1, 1960, UNTIL THE PRESENT, PLEASE STATE THE PHYSICAL LOCATION WHERE THE COVER WAS CONDUCTED, THE NAMES OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE COVER, THE TYPE OF MAIL COVERED, AND THE PURPOSE OF THE COVER. (3) PLEASE PROVIDE ALL DOCUMENTS AND MEMORANDA WHICH DISCUSS, REFER, OR RELATE TO THE ORIGINS, AUTHORIZATIONS, CONDUCT AND TERMINATION OF, AND POLICIES AND PROCEDURES FOR, THE MAIL OPENINGS, INTERCEPTS, AND COVERS IDENTIFIED ABOVE."

EACH OFFICE SHOULD IMMEDIATELY REVIEW ITS FILES FOR ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE. NEW YORK, BOSTON, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, SEATTLE, AND WFO SHOULD FURNISH INFORMATION CONCERNING SAM SURVEY. NEW YORK, DETROIT, AND SAN FRANCISCO SHOULD FURNISH INFORMATION CONCERNING [GUS SURVEY.]<sup>(S)</sup> NEW YORK AND WFO SHOULD FURNISH INFORMATION CONCERNING Z COVERAGE. SAN FRANCISCO SHOULD FURNISH INFORMATION CONCERNING CHIPROP

~~SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~  
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PAGE THREE ~~TOP SECRET~~

AND CHICLET. MIAMI SHOULD ADVISE IF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM MM 890-S\* RESULTED FROM INTERCEPT OF MAIL AND IF SO APPROPRIATE INFORMATION SHOULD BE FURNISHED. RESULTS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED BY TELETYPE, ATTENTION OF SA W. O. CREGAR, AND SHOULD REACH THE BUREAU BY JUNE 24, 1975.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 3676, KCDS 2 AND 3, INDEFINITE.~~

1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. G. T. Tunstall  
6/4/75

Mr. W. R. Wannall

W. O. Cregar

INTELLIGENCE EVALUATION COMMITTEE (IEC)  
INTERNAL SECURITY, MISCELLANEOUS

*Sensstudy -75*

This is to receive approval for submission of copies of documents requested by the U. S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. By letter dated 5/14/75 Senator Frank Church, Chairman of the above Committee, requested the Attorney General furnish documents including "all memoranda and other materials in the possession of the FBI pertaining to the activities of the IEC." (Appendix C, I, 14).

Mr. Kevin Maroney, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, advised Supervisor Garnett T. Tunstall on 5/29/75 that the Department has made available to Senator Church's Committee all data contained in Departmental files on the IEC. Included in this material are work papers and final estimates prepared by IEC as well as communications between IEC and the Bureau. The only information remaining in Bureau files not already made available to the Committee consists of in-office memoranda. These memoranda fall into three general categories:

1. Those dealing with the origin and staffing of IEC,
2. Memoranda setting out requests from IEC for information from the Bureau and requests for approval to send such data to IEC and
3. Memoranda transmitting estimates and work papers of IEC which was the result of information furnished by the Bureau and other participating agencies.

These memoranda, without exception, show that the Bureau's participation in IEC was at the instruction of the Attorney General, its activities were legal and that the Bureau's contribution was substantial. It should be noted that the memorandum M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop dated 11/25/70 captioned

1 - 62-116395 (SENSSTUDY 75)

Enclosures

62-113887

Gl:eks (4)

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DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2 km/inf

MIR-16

45 JUN 25 1975  
CONTINUED OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-113887-231

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Intelligence Evaluation Committee (IEC)

"Robert C. Mardian, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Meeting with the Director, 11/25/70," has been excised to delete information not germane to IEC. Copy of original memorandum not excised attached.

ACTION:

If approved, copies of the above-described memoranda, which are attached, will be transmitted to the Department by LHM for referral to the Senate Select Committee.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 6/10/75

FROM : Legal Counsel *JM*

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

On 6/9/75, Mr. K. William O'Connor telephonically advised me that the Committee is interested in information concerning certain electronic surveillance coverage instituted at the request of the White House concerning seventeen individuals. Mr. O'Connor said that he understands that a letter was addressed to the White House by the Bureau furnishing copies of documents that summarized the information available to the Bureau concerning the alleged seventeen wiretaps. Mr. O'Connor requested that he be briefed concerning this matter in order for him to discuss the Committee's requests.

It appears that Mr. O'Connor may be referring to a letter dated July 23, 1974, that was addressed to Mr. George P. Williams, Associate Counsel to the President, at the White House. A memorandum was addressed to the Attorney General also dated July 23, 1974, captioned "Electronic Coverage Placed At The Request of the White House," which advised the Department that pursuant to the authorization of the Deputy Attorney General certain documents had been furnished to Mr. Williams at the White House.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the Intelligence Division identify the materials involved in Mr. O'Connor's request and provide him with an appropriate briefing.

- 1 - Mr. Wannall
  - 1 - Mr. Cregar
  - 1 - Mr. Hotis
  - 1 - Mr. Daly
  - 1 - Mr. Mintz
- JAM:mtm

(7) *JM*

*WZW*

*JM*

REC-102

17 JUN 23 1975

*62-116395-247*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 RUM/MLG  
MOR-16

*PKR 4-23*



84 JUN 23 1975

2 - J. A. Mintz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)  
1 - W. R. Wannall

The Attorney General

June 18, 1975

Director, FBI

1 - W. O. Cregar  
1 - A. B. Fulton  
1 - D. Ryan

**UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES**

Attached herewith in 14 bound volumes are excised copies of Exhibits A through E of the Department report of FBI Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) activities, prepared by the committee chaired by former Assistant Attorney General Henry E. Petersen.

These exhibits are individual write-ups prepared by the FBI of each proposed action in the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, White Hate, Black Extremist, and New Left Cointelpros.

In my letter to you dated April 21, 1975, I recommended against release of these exhibits to the Senate Select Committee as they are internal work papers which were prepared as a part of the deliberative process for an in-house Department investigation. I strongly object to the release of these exhibits. In the event you deem it necessary to release these exhibits to the Senate Select Committee, I request the enclosed copies, which have been excised in an attempt to avoid intrusions upon individuals' right of privacy and compromise of sensitive investigative techniques and sources, be made available.

Enclosures (14)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: K. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

1 - 62-116009

DR:pld  
(11)

Director signed original  
which was hand carried  
with enclosures to  
O'Connor 5:15 6/17/75  
by SA Daly. Jam

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP0 AM/ML

17 JUN 23 1975  
See NOTE page 2.

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-116009

The Attorney General

NOTE:

On 6/11/75 Legal Counsel advised Mr. K. William O'Connor of the Department of our objection and our desire that excisions be made if we are overruled. Mr. O'Connor suggested the excised material be prepared on an expedite basis. It appears the Department will make available these exhibits to the Senate Select Committee but we feel we should be on record as relates to FBI recommendations and objections.

This letter and exhibits A through E, which will be made available to Legal Counsel, should be delivered to Mr. O'Connor at the Department by Legal Counsel Division.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall

FROM : W. O. Cregar

SUBJECT: INTERVIEW OF MRS. DOROTHY SKILLMAN  
6/4/75  
SENSTUDY 75

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- (1 - Mr. Hotis)
- DATE: 6/5/75
- (1 - Mr. Daly)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. L. F. Schwartz

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

On 6/4/75, Mrs. Dorothy Skillman, former Executive Assistant to Mr. Clyde Tolson, was interviewed by Mr. Mark H. Gittenstein and Miss Mary Deoreo of the Senate Select Committee Staff. Mrs. Skillman was escorted to the interview by former Assistant to the Director John P. Mohr who remained outside the interview room during the interview. Prior to the interview, Mrs. Skillman was met by SA L. F. Schwartz at which time she advised that she had been advised by Mr. John Hotis, Office of Legal Counsel, that the interview was to be concerning Mr. Hoover's Official and Confidential (OC) files and that if questions came up during the interview on other matters which might impinge on sensitive sources and methods, current Bureau investigations, etc., she was free to request an interruption of the interview to consult with Mr. Schwartz.

The interview of Mrs. Skillman commenced at 2:30 p.m., and it was terminated at approximately 4:30 p.m. On only one occasion toward the end of the interview, Mrs. Skillman asked to consult with Mr. Mohr and Mr. Schwartz. She advised that the interviewers had asked her concerning her knowledge of what might have been in certain cartons which were reportedly stored in the recreation room area of the late Director's residence. Mrs. Skillman stated that she thought these cartons contained many of the gifts and mementos that had been collected by Mr. Hoover over a period of years. After consulting with Mr. Mohr, she realized that she knew this only from comments that had been made to her by Mr. Mohr and had no firsthand knowledge of the contents of the cartons. On Mr. Mohr's advice, she advised the interviewers that she had no firsthand knowledge of what was in the cartons but that she knew that Mr. Mohr was aware of what was in them because he was present when the appraisers of Mr. Tolson's estate inventoried the entire house including these cartons. At the conclusion of the interview, Mr. Gittenstein commented to Mr. Mohr that he might have further questions to ask him concerning the contents of the cartons but would probably handle that by a telephone call to Mr. Mohr.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/18/99 BY SP-3 am/mf

(8)

MDR-16

REC-102

CONTINUED JUNE 1975

PERS. REC. UNIT

84 JUN 23 1975

COPY OF PERSONAL RECORDS UNIT

62-116375-244

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Interview of Mrs. Dorothy Skillman  
6/4/75  
Senstudy 75

After the completion of the interview, Mrs. Skillman advised Mr. Mohr and Mr. Schwartz that the interviewers had asked her a great number of questions concerning her knowledge of the OC files which she said was very limited, the layout of Mr. Hoover's house and the work that Mrs. Skillman and Miss Gandy had done at the residence subsequent to Mr. Hoover's death. She stated that the interviewers were quite courteous and in no way antagonistic. Mr. Mohr requested Mrs. Skillman to type up an informal memorandum concerning the interview and he indicated that when this was done, he would provide a copy to the Bureau.

ACTION:

For information.

*WRS*

*Wannall*

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

*per*

*[Signature]*

Date of Mail 6/13/75

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Section.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL SENSTUDY 75

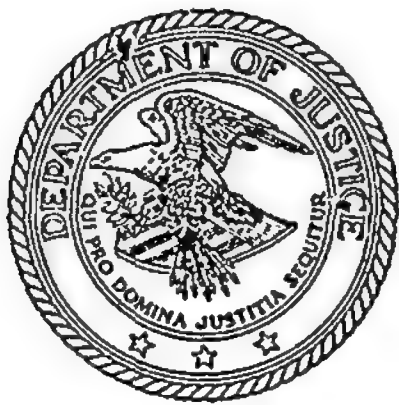
Removed By 79 JUN 24 1975

File Number 62-116395-242

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2006 BY SP2 RUM/lmf  
mDR-16

Permanent Serial Charge Out





OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

JUN 9 1975

TO: Kevin Maroney  
Deputy Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

John Mintz  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM: *Bill* K. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

SUBJECT: IRS - SSC Request

*Sens study '73'*

Attached is a copy of the SSC document request served upon IRS which I received on June 3, 1975. Since some of the items may relate to DOJ/FBI functions, I thought you should be aware of the scope of the request, as a matter of information.

The Topical Task Forces may need to be alert to this request as a matter of prospective coordination.

cc: Deputy Attorney General

*5* ENCLOSURE

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

REC-102

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/16/00 BY SP2 PUN/UMF  
MAR-16

17 JUN 19 1975



JUN 19 1975

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

3 JUN 1975


DCI/IC 75-2033

Mr. William O'Connor  
Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination  
Office of the Deputy Attorney General  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. O'Connor:

Attached is a copy of a Senate Select Committee request to the Treasury Department dated 14 May 1975. Mr. Collins of Treasury has requested you be provided a copy of this request, but no other distribution will be made. It will, of course, become an entry in the Community Central Index.

Yours very truly,

  
Harriett D. Mowitt

Executive Secretary  
USIB Ad Hoc Coordinating Group

Attachment: As stated

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-241

DCI/IC 75-2007

Department  
of the Treasury

to Mr. John Clarke, Associate  
Deputy to the DCI for the Office of Special  
Intelligence Community, CIA Assistant to Secretary  
for National Security  
room. \_\_\_\_\_ date. 5/29/75

Forwarded is a copy of the Senate Select Committee's first request to the Internal Revenue Service for documents and explanations. As I stated yesterday at the Ad Hoc Committee meeting there have been some discussions with the Committee staff since this letter was received and the staff has indicated that they plan to revise the questions considerably. In these circumstances you may wish to hold distribution of this document to other members of the Ad Hoc Committee until we receive the revised document. The one exception to this might be the Justice Department since some of the questions will involve matters of interest to them.

*Foster*

J. Foster Collins

room 4328

964-242x 2631

62-116395-341



FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN

PHILIP A. HART, MICH.  
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HOWARD H. BAKER, TENN.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, W. VA.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARTZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

## United States Senate

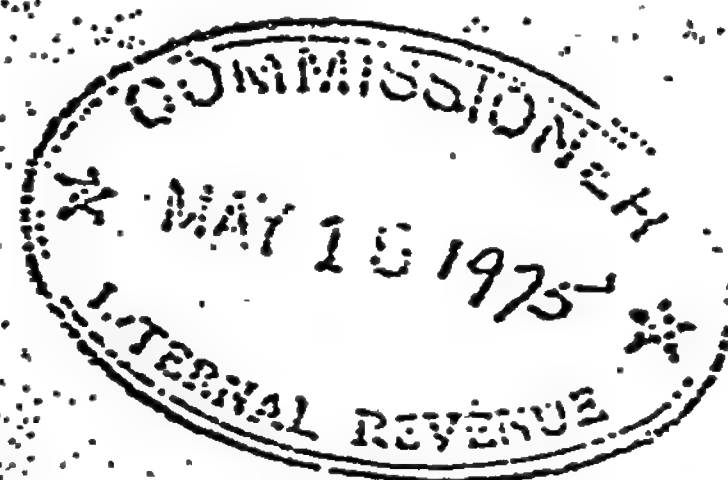
SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 93RD CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 14, 1975

Hon. Donald C. Alexander  
Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service  
Internal Revenue Building  
1111 Constitution Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20224



Dear Commissioner Alexander:

The Committee appreciates your letter pledging the full cooperation and assistance of the Internal Revenue Service in the work of the Senate Select Committee on Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities. We also appreciate your forwarding the draft resolution which would authorize the Committee to review any "tax-related information" which may fall within the purview of its responsibilities. Such a resolution is being put forward.

In an effort to expedite the Committee's inquiry into the intelligence functions of the Internal Revenue Service, the Committee asks your cooperation and assistance in furnishing the material and information sought in the enclosed "First Request for Documents from the Internal Revenue Service" and "First Interrogatories to the Internal Revenue Service". It is the Committee's desire that most of the material and information requested be provided by May 30 and the remainder very shortly thereafter. We also request that you provide the answers and documents as they are compiled rather than holding those which are initially compiled until May 30.

In the near future, the Committee's Chief Counsel will be in touch with your General Counsel to work out the mechanics of delivering the requested documents and interrogatory answers and to arrange for close liaison between the Committee's staff and the Internal Revenue Service personnel with whom the staff will wish to meet.

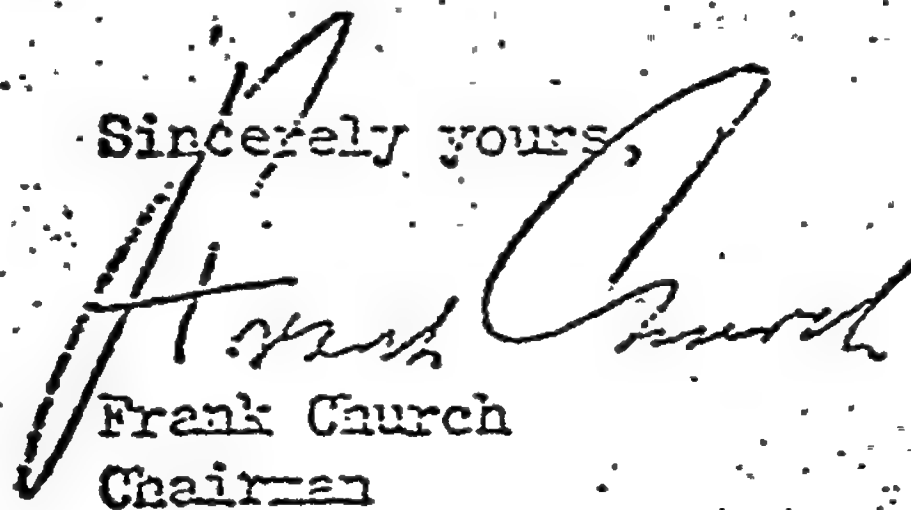
While we recognize that the enclosed requests are substantial, they reflect the broad mandate given to the Committee by the Senate. We believe that it is in the national interest that we perform our

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-241

work under that mandate both expeditiously and thoroughly. Of course, for us to proceed expeditiously, it is necessary to obtain prompt cooperation from the Executive agencies involved. We are hopeful that with your continued cooperation the end result of our joint efforts will meet the Committee's responsibilities to the Congress and to the American people.

Sincerely yours,

  
Frank Church  
Chairman



## FIRST REQUEST TO INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE FOR DOCUMENTS

The Committee wishes to identify all intelligence collection analysis and dissemination functions performed by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), and to review the legal authority for such activities, the manner in which they are ordered and controlled, the coordination of such activities with other federal agencies, the exchange of intelligence information with other federal agencies and any other cooperation with such agencies relative to intelligence activity. In pursuit of this inquiry the Committee requests, that the IRS provide the Committee with the documents and information identified below.

The request is divided into two major parts. The first part seeks documents which relate generally to any intelligence functions which the IRS performs. The second part seeks documents relating to specific intelligence functions of the IRS of which the Committee is aware. Therefore, many of the documents encompassed by the second part of the request will also be encompassed by the first part of the request.

Wherever used herein, the following terms shall have the following meanings:

Documents

Memoranda, letters, notes, files, photographs, tape recordings or other electronic recordings, computer memories capable of being rendered readable, all papers containing printed language and any other documents. Any document containing any writing which causes it to differ in any respect from any otherwise similar document shall be deemed a separate document.

Intelligence

Information about persons or entities other than purely financial information.

Relating to

Relating in whole or in part to.

Federal agencies

All such agencies, including the White House.

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-241



## I. GENERAL REQUEST

With respect to each intelligence gathering or intelligence dissemination function of the IRS either now being performed or which has been performed within the last fifteen years, please furnish the following:

1. An organizational chart of the organizational unit performing the function indicating the total number of ~~employees in each unit, the assigned duties and responsibilities~~ of each position, the chain of command to the organizational unit performing the function.
2. All rules, guidelines, regulations, manuals or other documents defining the function or providing guidance or control to those performing it.
3. All statutes, executive orders, departmental regulations, agency regulations, and any other documents or materials which constitute legal authority for the function.
4. The annual budget of the organizational unit performing the function for the last five years or, in the case of a unit which has ceased to exist, for the last five years of its existence.
5. All documents relating to any agreement or understanding with any other federal agency or the executive or any state or local government or agency regarding the function or the dissemination of any intelligence produced by the function.
6. All documents constituting or relating to reports or investigations of the function performed by the IRS or any other entity, and all documents relating to the establishment of the function.
7. All documents relating to electronic surveillance by IRS or other federal agencies.

## II. SPECIFIC REQUESTS

### A. Organization and Functions of Intelligence and Internal Security Divisions

With respect to the Intelligence and Internal Security Divisions of the IRS, please furnish the following:

1. An organizational chart indicating the total number of employees in each category or position, defining the assigned duties and responsibilities of each position, and delineating the chain of command from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to the Chief of each division.

2. A breakdown of the personnel in each of the two named divisions assigned to each district office, indicating the titles and functions associated with each position in each office.

3. Copies of all rules, guidelines and regulations defining the duties, functions, and responsibilities of each of the two divisions.

**B. Intelligence Gathering and Retrieval System**

In addition to the documents requested in Part I, please furnish the following specific categories of documents:

1. All documents relating to or constituting the recommendations of the study group convened in 1969 by William A. Kolar to study the feasibility of Intelligence Gathering and Retrieval System, including all backup documents for such recommendations, and any documents reflecting dissenting views.

2. All documents passing from, to, or between William Kolar and the Commissioners of Revenue or their assistants relating to the plans for and progress made toward the implementation of IGRS.

3. All documents containing evaluations of the various methods of implementation of IGRS.

4. All documents constituting regulations, employee instructions and operating manuals regarding the IGRS, including guidelines, rules or regulations regarding the receipt and storage of information from other federal agencies.

5. All documents passing between the Chief of the Intelligence Division and the District Manager relating to the implementation of IGRS in each District.

6. All documents and guidelines relating to the implementation of IGRS in individual districts or in districts as a whole.



7. A breakdown by district of the IGRS files maintained in each district office, indicating the following:

(a) the number of such files on which some form of action constituting enforcement of the tax laws other than the maintenance of the file has actually been undertaken;

(b) the number of such files on which specific enforcement action other than the maintenance of the file is planned;

(c) the number of such files on which specific enforcement action other than the maintenance of the file has not been taken and is not planned.

8. An alphabetical list of the names of individuals, groups and organizations contained in IGRS on which no files are maintained.

9. An alphabetical list of the names of individuals, groups and organizations contained in IGRS on which files are maintained.

10. Any regulations or documents relating to criteria for determining the duration of a file in IGRS.

11. Any documents relating to rules or guidelines for analysis and dissemination of information held in IGRS.

12. Any documents relating to actual instances of dissemination to any person or organization, including other federal agencies, of information contained in IGRS.

13. Any documents relating to or constituting requests by anyone, including other federal agencies, for information contained in IGRS.

14. All documents which have been gathered or produced by the group formed in December 1974 to study the operation of IGRS, and all documents relating to or explaining the establishment of the study group.

C. Internal Revenue Strike Force Participation

In addition to the documents requested in Part I, please furnish the following information and documents relating to the participation by IRS in Organized Crime Strike Forces:



All documents constituting or relating to agreements with other agencies regarding participation by the IRS in Organized Crime Strike Forces, including any documents relating to the desirability of participating on such strike forces.

**D. Special Service Staff**

In addition to the documents requested in Part I, please furnish the following documents relating to Special Service Staff (SSS):

1. any document which established the SSS;
2. a detailed organizational chart of the SSS indicating the number of employees in each unit of the SSS and the duties and responsibilities of the employees of each unit, as well as the chain of command from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to the head of SSS;
3. a document or documents indicating the names of all employees of SSS during its existence, and indicating the position occupied by each such employee;
4. all documents relating to the policies, operations and procedures of the SSS relating to the collection, analysis, storage and dissemination of information;
5. all documents relating to the transfer of any SSS files to IGRS.

**E. Audit Division**

In addition to any documents relating to the Audit Division which may be encompassed by Part I, please furnish:

1. the rules, regulations and guidelines, including employee manuals, for selection of taxpayers for audit and the legal authority for such rules, regulations and guidelines;
2. the rules, regulations and guidelines relating to the storage, use and dissemination of information gathered through audits;
3. all documents relating to any of the following occurring since 1950

(a) Politically motivated requests for an audit of any person or entity

(b) Requests by any person or state or federal agency whose official duties do not normally require the use of financial information on individual taxpayers for an audit of any person or entity

4. All documents constituting rules or guidelines for removal of taxpayers' names from the list of those to be audited.

F. General Requests For Information

To the extent they have not already been furnished in response to previous sections of this document request, please furnish:

1. All documents constituting requests to the IRS for information regarding any person or entity by anyone, including federal agencies, whose normal official functions do not require use of such information.

2. All documents relating to or constituting the response of the IRS to the requests referred to in 1. above.

3. All documents constituting or relating to requests by anyone, including other federal agencies:

(a) for electronic surveillance by IRS, or

(b) for information or investigation which led to electronic surveillance by IRS

and all documents relating to or constituting the response of the IRS to any such requests.



FIRST INTERROGATORIES TO THE  
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

Please provide full, explanatory answers to the questions set forth below. As used in these questions, the following terms shall have the meaning set forth below:

"Documents"

Memoranda, letters, notes, files, photographs, tape recordings or other electronic recordings, computer memories capable of being rendered readable, all papers containing printed language, and all other documents. Any document containing any writing which causes it to differ in any respect from any otherwise similar document shall be deemed a separate document.

"Relating to"

Relating in whole or in part to.

"Federal agency"

All federal agencies and the Executive Branch.

1. Regarding the February 7, 1975, official press release of the Internal Revenue Service and the answer of Commissioner Alexander to the first question posed by Senator Joseph Montoya in his letter of January 29, 1975, please answer the following:
  - a. At whose direction did William A. Kolar convene a study group to study the feasibility of a formal, uniform Intelligence Gathering and Retrieval System (IGRS)?
  - b. Who were the participants in the meeting of the study group?
  - c. Please explain the relationship between each participant and the IRS.
  - d. Please describe in detail the various alternative systems of implementation of IGRS tested in the

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-241



various districts, indicating which method was tested in which district, and list the dates each alternative system was tested in each district.

- e. Please describe the procedure followed by District Directors in implementing IGRS in each district.
  - f. In how many district offices has IGRS been implemented?
2. How was intelligence data compiled, maintained, and stored by the Intelligence Division of the Internal Revenue Service prior to the inception of IGRS?
  3. Did officials, representatives, or members of other federal government agencies participate in the establishment of IGRS or in any discussions regarding its establishment? If so, list each such agency and its representatives and explain the manner and extent of its involvement.
  4. Did IGRS compile, maintain, and store information received from other federal agencies? If so, was that information compiled, maintained, and stored for the benefit and use of the Internal Revenue Service, the other federal agency, or both?
  5. Is information received from other agencies of the federal government edited to delete non-tax-related material prior to its being entered in IGRS? If so, please explain the editing procedure and furnish all documents relating to such procedure.
  6. Upon how many individuals and groups did IGRS maintain files as of November 1974?
  7. Please identify all individuals and groups on whom IGRS maintained files as of November 1974.
  8. Please state the total number of individuals and groups on whom IGRS maintained files as of November 1974.
  9. Were all IGRS files maintained on a computerized or mechanized basis as of November 1974? How were the files indexed? In connection with the answer to this question, please identify all cross-referencing systems whereby categories of information could be retrieved from IGRS other than through identification of the name of an individual or group.

10. How many names were indexed in IGRS on which there were no files?
11. Please fully describe the procedure followed by the Intelligence Division of the IRS in establishing and entering a file on an individual, group, or organization in IGRS, stating whether:
  - a. each file or name contained in IGRS is the result of an investigation by the Intelligence Division of IRS;
  - b. the files or names stored and maintained by IGRS are periodically investigated by the Intelligence Division of IRS.
12. Upon how many IGRS files has some form of action constituting enforcement of tax laws, other than the establishment and maintenance of the file, been undertaken by the Internal Revenue Service or the Justice Department?
13. How many names and files appear in IGRS upon which no action constituting the enforcement of tax laws, other than the establishment and maintenance of the file, has been undertaken by the Internal Revenue Service or Justice Department?
14. What criteria has been established by the Internal Revenue Service governing the duration of a file or name in IGRS?
15. What procedures are followed by the Internal Revenue Service in disseminating files, names, and other information contained in IGRS to other agencies of the federal government?
16. To what other agencies of the federal government has information contained in IGRS been distributed? Have there been any instances in which information contained in IGRS has been disseminated to other federal agencies without following the procedures described in Item 15 above?



- a. If so, specify each such instance, listing the name of the individual, group, or organization whose file was disseminated and the agency at whose request the file was disseminated.

17. Has the Internal Revenue Service received requests for the dissemination of information contained in IGRS which (a) were politically motivated, or (b) were made by individuals or entities whose normal official duties did not require the use of such information? If so, please furnish the Committee with the following:

- a. The name of the agency or individual making such request or requests and the name of the file or files sought by that agency or individual;
- b. The date the request was received and the manner in which it was made; and
- c. The action the Internal Revenue Service took on the request.

18. Were any members of the IGRS study group convened by William Kolar in 1969 participants in the formation or operation of the Special Services Staff? If so, please identify them and describe in detail their relationship with both the Special Services Staff and IGRS.

- a. Was IGRS, either in its formative or operative stages, used to maintain and store information collected by the Special Services Staff? If so, please identify the nature of the information so stored and the nature of the information not so stored.
- b. Was it a policy of the Internal Revenue Service that documents and files maintained by the Special Services Staff not be stored in IGRS or its generic predecessors? If so, please furnish the Committee with evidence of such policy.
- c. What was the relationship between the formal creation of IGRS on May 4, 1973, and the decision of the IRS to review and purge Special Services Staff files on or about June 28, 1973?



- d. Have any Special Service Staff files ever been transferred to IGRS? If so, please specify the name of the individual, group, or organization upon which the file was maintained and the date it was transferred to IGRS.

19. With regard to the recent suspension of IGRS activities on January 22, 1975, pending an internal review of its operations, please answer the following:

- a. To what specific duties have personnel assigned to IGRS been reassigned pending the present Internal Revenue Service review of IGRS? Please furnish the names of the personnel reassigned and the offices and units to which they have been reassigned.
- b. Please furnish the name of the IRS official who is charged with the primary responsibility for conducting the study of IGRS.
- c. In what manner are IRS intelligence files being compiled and maintained pending completion of the study?

20. What is the relationship between the Intelligence Division of the Internal Revenue Service and Organized Crime Strike Forces? 11

21. On how many strike forces do IRS agents participate? Please identify the strike forces. 11

22. How many agents participate on each such strike force? 11

23. Has the involvement of IRS intelligence personnel on such strike forces been confined to investigation of tax-related matters? If not, please indicate the manner and extent of IRS involvement in non-tax-related actions of the strike forces. In this regard, provide the Committee with detailed summaries of IRS participation on strike forces which did not involve or were unrelated to enforcement of tax-related matters. 11

24. What intelligence gathering, compiling, and storage systems has the Internal Revenue Service maintained in addition to IGRS?

25. In December 1974 the Internal Revenue Service suspended the operation of IGRS pending an internal review of the system. Was this review prompted by concern that non-tax-related materials were being gathered, compiled, and stored in IGRS? If so, please furnish the Committee with all files, names, and other information contained in IGRS files which is non-tax related.
26. Has the Internal Security Division of the Internal Revenue Service, or any other division of the Internal Revenue Service, ever investigated any aspects of the intelligence gathering, compilation, storage, and dissemination procedures of the Internal Revenue Service? If so, please identify and describe all such investigations and describe any subsequent action taken by the Internal Revenue Service as a result of the investigation.
27. Has the IRS received requests for the dissemination of information which were either (a) politically motivated, or (b) were made by individuals or entities whose normal official duties did not require the use of such information? If so, please state:
- a. The name of the agency or individual making such request or requests and the name of the file or files sought by that agency or individual, or the nature of the information sought;
  - b. The date the request was received and the manner in which it was made; and
  - c. The action the Internal Revenue Service took on the request.
28. Has the IRS ever engaged in mail cover or other mail surveillance activities, including the recording of dispatch and receipt of mail (other than to or from the IRS) and the opening of mail (other than to the IRS)? If so, please state:
- a. The unit within the IRS which engaged in such activities;
  - b. When the activities occurred;



- c. Whether they continue;
  - d. The names of all IRS personnel who ever either directly performed such activities or supervised or administered such activities;
  - e. The legal authority for such activities;
  - f. The reason for such activities;
  - g. Whether judicial approval was always obtained in advance for such activities.
29. Please set forth the rules, regulations, and procedures which govern removal of taxpayers' names from the list of returns to be audited.
30. Has the IRS ever engaged in wiretapping, electronic eavesdropping, or any other type of electronic surveillance? If so, please state:
- a. The unit within the IRS which engaged in such activities;
  - b. When the activities occurred;
  - c. Whether they continue;
  - d. The names of all IRS personnel who ever either directly performed such activities or supervised or administered such activities;
  - e. The legal authority for such activities;
  - f. The reason for such activities;
  - g. Whether judicial approval was always obtained in advance for such activities.
31. If the answer to #30 is yes, as to each instance of such activity, state:
- a. The dates during which the activity occurred;
  - b. The type of device used;



- c. Whether judicial approval was obtained in advance and, if so, from which court;
- d. The subject of the activity;
- e. Why the activity occurred;
- f. The use or disposition which was made of the information collected;
- g. The names and current addresses of the individuals who (a) performed or (b) supervised the activity and whether they are IRS employees.

32. Has the IRS ever been directed, requested, or advised by any other federal agency to use electronic listening devices? If so, please state as to each such direction, request, or advice:

- a. The date;
- b. The federal agency making it;
- c. The proposed subject;
- d. The action IRS took;
- e. If surveillance resulted, please identify the incident among those listed in answer to number 31;
- f. The date and nature of all documents relating to the direction, request, or advice.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Adams

DATE: 6-13-75

FROM : Legal Counsel *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: SENATE COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

Prior memoranda have been submitted reporting that the Capitol Police Department would handle security checks of the space assigned to captioned Committees as well as the offices of the individual members.

Arrangements were made through the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and House of Representatives to advise us of the Committee Members who have their private offices checked and the dates on which these checks were made.

On June 13, 1975, Captain Eugene Brannon of the Capitol Police Force advised Inspector Bowers that three members of the Senate Committee and two members of the House Committee have had their private offices checked to date. These are:

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) who had his office in room 245 Russell Senate Office Building and his Capitol office, room S-201 checked on 5-14-75.

Senator Gary Hart (D-Colorado) whose office in 6325 Dirksen Senate Office Building was checked on 5-22-75.

Senator Richard Schweiker (R-Penna.) whose office in 347 Russell Senate Office Building was checked on 6-5-75.

1-Mr. Adams  
1-Mr. Wannall  
1-Mr. Mintz  
1-Mr. Cregar  
1-Mr. Bowers

REC-102

62-116395-239

CONTINUED - OVER

17 JUN 19 1975

DWB:lgp  
(7)

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DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2 RUM/ML

84 JUL 9 1975

Memo to Mr. Adams from Legal Counsel  
Re: SEANTE COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Congressman Robert Giaimo (D-Conn.) whose office in 2265 Rayburn Building was checked on 6-4-75.

Congressman Robert Kasten (R-Wisc.) whose office in 1113 Longworth House Office Building was checked on 6-4-75.

Captian Brannon said they have no pending requests from other members of these Committees to make any checks of their offices.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*JD*

*PM*

*Jim*

*Jim*



Mr. W. R. Wannall

W. O. Crogar

HOUSTUDY 75

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Jenkins
- 1 - All Assistant Directors
- 6/9/75
- 3 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
  - (1 - Mr. J. E. Notis)
  - (1 - Mr. P. V. Daly)
- 1 - All Sections Chiefs
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Crogar
- 1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff

By memorandum F. B. Griffith to Mr. Bassett captioned "Senstudy 75" dated 2/6/75, you were advised that "Senstudy 75" is the code word for the control file (62-116395) containing all communications relating to the Senate Select Committee's (SSC) investigation and study of Governmental operations with respect to intelligence activities.

In mid-February, 1975, the House of Representatives created a Select Committee on Intelligence Activities which will have virtually the same jurisdiction and responsibilities as the above SSC. To date, practically all our work has been related to the SSC and only very recently has the House Select Committee (HSC) made any efforts to commence staffing.

As it appears, we can expect in the near future requests from the HSC similar to that already received from the SSC and in order to facilitate the administrative handling and retrieval, where necessary, of HSC requests and this Bureau's response to same, the code word "Houstudy 75" is being assigned to the control file (62-116464) containing all communications pertaining to the HSC and related matters.

ACTION:

None. Above submitted for information.

62-116464

① 62-116395

TJH:mjc  
(28)

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m02-16

62-116395  
NOT RECORDED

46 JUN 19 1975

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Adams

DATE: 6-4-75

FROM : Legal Counsel *gm*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
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Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise that the Bureau has been requested to again make available Newark office secretaries, Mary Ann Massa and M. Ann Mierzejewski for interview by captioned Committee and that the Department and White House had instructed that they not be made available until such time as the Committee decides to allow Bureau representatives to be present during interview.

By way of background, you will recall that these employees were released from the Employment Agreement and were made available for interview on May 20, 1975, by captioned Committee. However, the Department in objection stated that they were desirous that a Bureau representative be present during the interview. The topic of the interview was to have been their duties and responsibilities during the period of July to September, 1964, in connection with the Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey. Ultimately, neither the Department nor the White House could reach agreement concerning the interviews and the employees did not submit to interview.

On June 3, 1975, Michael Epstein, staff member of captioned Committee again requested these employees be made available for interview on June 5, 1975, at 10:00 a.m. The scope of the interview would be the responsibilities and duties performed during the period of July to September, 1964, in connection with the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

62-116395

REG-100

62-116395-237

17 JUN 18 1975

1-Mr. Wannall  
1-Mr. Cregar  
1-Mr. Mintz  
1-Mr. Hotis  
1-Mr. Daly

1-67-538691 (Personnel File Mary Ann Massa)  
1-67-581180 (Personnel File M. Ann Mierzewski)

PVD:lgp  
(9)

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DATE 6/19/2000 BY SP2AM/mf

CONTINUED - OVER

MOR-16

84 JUN 8 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



Memo from Legal Counsel to Mr. Adams  
SENSTUDY 75

Mr. Epstein classified the interview as an "abuse" type and agreed to allow agents to be available but not present during interview.

On June 3, 1975, K. William O'Connor, Special Counsel to the Deputy Attorney General for Intelligence Coordination, was advised of the request and of the fact that an agent could not be present during interview. He stated that the Department's position was that unless the Committee consented to allow Bureau personnel to be present, the interview would not go forth, and that he would advise Epstein and F. A. O. Schwarz, Chief Counsel of the Committee, of this decision.

Mr. O'Connor telephonically recontacted Special Agent Daly and advised that he discussed the matter with assistant to the Counsel ~~to~~ the President, James A. Wilderotter. Wilderotter told O'Connor it was the White House position that these girls should not be made available for interview unless the Committee allows Bureau personnel to be present. Wilderotter stated these two employees had been cited as examples wherein the White House felt interviews should not be conducted without representatives of the particular agency or Bureau being present as they are service personnel. According to Wilderotter, Schwarz agreed to this position.

O'Connor telephonically contacted Special Agent Daly on June 4, 1975, at which time he advised that he had discussed the interview with Schwarz, Epstein, and staff member Mark Gitenstein, and they would hold in abeyance the request to interview the employees pending a review of documents the Bureau is making available concerning 1964 Atlantic City Convention as stated in the Committee's request of June 14, 1975.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

PVD JBH/PVD

WPH/TAL

YH

PCH

Jm

Jm



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W.R. Wannall

FROM : V.V. Kolombatovic

SUBJECT: HENRY B. MONTAGUE  
FORMER CHIEF POSTAL INSPECTOR,  
U. S. POSTAL SERVICE  
SCHEDULED APPEARANCE BEFORE SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE 6/12/75

1 - Mr. Adams  
1 - Mr. Mintz  
1 - Mr. D.W. Moore

DATE: 6/5/75

1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Cregar  
1 - Mr. Kolombatovic  
1 - Mr. Crescioli

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

This memorandum is to advise of the scheduled appearance, under oath, of former Chief Postal Inspector Henry B. Montague before the full Senate Select Committee (SSC) in Washington, D. C., on 6/12/75.

On 6/4/75 Mr. Ron L. Jackson, Assistant Chief Inspector, U. S. Postal Service, advised Liaison Agent L.A. Crescioli that he was contacted this date by Mr. Montague who informed Jackson that he, Montague, was scheduled to appear before the full SSC on Thursday, 6/12/75. According to Jackson, Mr. Montague appeared to be very concerned about his appearance before this Committee. In fact, Montague requested that Jackson alert FBI Director Kelley to the fact that Montague will appear before this Committee. Montague did not indicate any specifics to Jackson as to why he was so concerned over his scheduled testimony before the Committee.

In the way of background, Montague was the Chief Postal Inspector from 1961 to the Spring of 1969, on which latter date Mr. William J. Cotter assumed the position of Chief Postal Inspector. Prior to 1961 Montague was the Inspector-in-Charge of the New York Division of the Postal Service. In the opinion of Mr. Jackson, Montague is a man of the highest integrity and most certainly is not involved in any wrongdoing. Jackson confidentially advised the Liaison Agent that it is his belief that Montague is so concerned about his appearance before the Committee because he may have to reveal certain agreements that prevailed in the past between the Bureau and the Postal Service concerning mail covers that have not been made public to date.

LAC:tdp ( )

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INITIALS OF OFFICIAL

NOT RECORDED

46 JUN 17 1975

84 JUN 18 1975

NW 55020 DocId:32989606 Page 211

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. W.R. Wannall  
RE: HENRY B. MONTAGUE  
FORMER CHIEF POSTAL INSPECTOR,  
U. S. POSTAL SERVICE  
SCHEDULED APPEARANCE BEFORE SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE 6/12/75

Jackson added that he personally has no knowledge of what agreements or understandings between the Bureau and the Postal Service that may be divulged by Montague. He emphasized that Montague did not divulge such data to him.

In conclusion, Jackson stated that Montague is in a retired status and has just returned from an extended vacation in the Mediterranean area. Montague did inform Jackson that the Committee has authorized Montague to be accompanied before the Committee by personal counsel; however, Montague has decided that he will testify alone and without personal counsel.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

*W.R. Wannall*

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

*PWM*

*[Signature]*

*LAC*

F B I

Date: 6/3/75

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. AD Adm.	_____
Dep. AD Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
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Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (62-116395)  
ATTENTION: OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL

FROM: B SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (62-6887)

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY, 1975

Remytel call this date to Assistant to the Director  
JAMES B. ADAMS.

There is enclosed for the Bureau a letter dated  
5/28/75 from Congressman RONALD V. DELLUMS, 8th District of  
California, to Mr. DON JONES, Senior Resident Agent, FBI,  
Berkeley, California. There is also enclosed a copy of my  
reply to Congressman DELLUMS.

San Francisco Office is obtaining pertinent infor-  
mation to Congressman DELLUM's request and this will be sub-  
mitted to the Bureau in the immediate future.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) FD  
1 - San Francisco  
CWB/cmp  
(3)

REC-102

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14 JUN 6 1975

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DATE 10/19/2000 BY SP2 AM/vmf  
MYDR-16

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

450 Golden Gate Avenue  
Box 36015  
San Francisco, California 94102

June 3, 1975

The Honorable Ronald V. Dellums  
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Dellums,

Mr. Don Jones, the Senior Resident Agent of the  
FBI Resident Agency in Berkeley, California, has referred  
to me your letter of May 28, 1975 asking certain information  
concerning the FBI's operation in Berkeley, California.

Your letter has been referred to FBI Headquarters  
in Washington, D.C. for appropriate action.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Bates  
Special Agent in Charge

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DATE 10/19/2006 BY SP2 RVM/lmf  
MOR-16

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

RONALD V. DELLUMS, 8TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

May 28, 1975

Mr. Don Jones, Senior Resident Agent  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
P. O. Box 1033  
Berkeley, California 94704

Dear Mr. Jones:

As you are aware, I have been concerned for some time about the nature of the Bureau's involvement in local law enforcement affairs. This concern has been heightened by my appointment to the House Select Committee to Investigate the U. S. Intelligence Community. In this light, I am requesting answers to the following questions concerning FBI activity in Berkeley:

1. What is the size of the contingent of agents in the Berkeley field office?
2. What are the functional responsibilities in the field office, and what are the percentages of agents involved in each, i.e., political, drug abuse, criminal, etc.?
3. What are the titles of the agents, and how do these relate to their involvement in category two?
4. What is the ethnic and sexual breakdown of the staff and agents in the Berkeley field office?
5. What are the interactions and working relationships between the field office, the Berkeley Police Department, the University of California Police Department, private security agencies and informers? How many informers are utilized by the field office?
6. Recent disclosures have raised serious questions regarding the Bureau's involvement in political surveillance activities of organizations and individuals over the past several years. What actions has the local field office taken to correct the abuses of these actions, and what political surveillance is being undertaken?

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DATE 01/19/2000 BY SP2 AVM/lmf

MDR-16

62-116395-236A

### WASHINGTON OFFICE:

1417 LONGWORTH BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-2661

### DISTRICT OFFICES:

2490 CHANNING WAY, ROOM 202  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94704  
(415) 548-7767

201 13TH STREET, ROOM 105  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94604  
(415) 763-0370

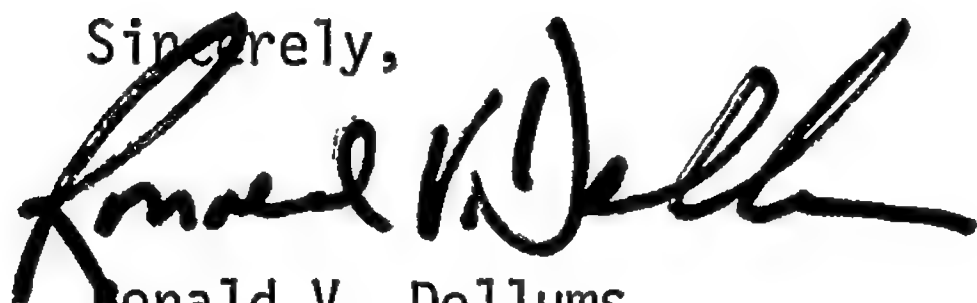
DONALD R. HOPKINS  
DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR

Mr. Don Jones  
May 28, 1975  
Page 2

7. I have read with interest of the Special Weapons and Tactics course given under Bureau auspices at the Santa Rita Rehabilitation Facility in Alameda County. I would appreciate your forwarding to me a description of the activities undertaken in this course, and the relationship of UCPD and BPD to the course. In addition, I would appreciate being provided any relevant information on SWAT that you have available.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter. I will look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,



Ronald V. Dellums  
Member of Congress

RVD/djc



6/3/75

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (62-116395)  
ATTENTION: OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (62-6887)

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY, 1975

Remytel call this date to Assistant to the Director  
JAMES B. ADAMS.

There is enclosed for the Bureau a letter dated  
6/28/75 from Congressman RONALD V. DELLUMS, 8th District of  
California, to Mr. DON JONES, Senior Resident Agent, FBI,  
Berkeley, California. There is also enclosed a copy of my  
reply to Congressman DELLUMS.

San Francisco Office is obtaining pertinent infor-  
mation to Congressman DELLUM's request and this will be sub-  
mitted to the Bureau in the immediate future.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2)  
1 - San Francisco  
CWB/cmp  
(3)

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MDR-16

1-Mr. Mintz  
1-Mr. Hotis  
1-Mr. Miller

REC-102

July 14, 1975

Honorable Ronald V. Dellums  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Dellums:

This is in response to your letter dated May 28, 1975, sent to the Senior Resident Agent of the Berkeley, California, FBI Resident Agency.

To clarify your inquiries, it should be noted the Resident Agency at Berkeley, California, operates under the general supervision of the FBI's San Francisco Office.

There are currently nineteen Special Agents assigned to the Berkeley Resident Agency. All are white males. The function of a resident agency is to handle all FBI matters within its specific geographical territory. This includes criminal, security and applicant investigations. The FBI does not have primary jurisdiction regarding drug matters and does not conduct "political" investigations.

As a matter of policy, the FBI advises other governmental law enforcement agencies of matters coming to our attention which are within the investigative jurisdiction of those agencies. In some cases there is concurrent jurisdiction and a joint investigation may be conducted; however, local law enforcement agencies do not have access to FBI files. Representatives of private security agencies may be contacted from time to time in the course of discharging our official responsibilities just as any other citizens may be contacted. The FBI also utilizes the services of informants to develop information concerning matters within this Bureau's investigative jurisdiction; however, it would be inappropriate for me to discuss more specifically the number of such informants or the manner in which they are utilized.

JDM:1gp

(7)

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DATE 10/19/2006 BY SP4 Rm/lmr

MDR-16

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

8 AUG 14 1975  
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Page 218

GPO 971-346

Honorable Ronald V. Dellums

As I have already indicated, the FBI does not conduct "political" investigations, nor do we conduct "political surveillances." We do, of course, have a responsibility for conducting domestic intelligence investigations authorized under legislative enactments, Presidential Directives and instructions of the Attorney General. These matters relate to espionage, sabotage, treason, sedition, and other activities involving the internal security of the United States. The policies relating to such investigations are not made on an ad hoc basis by individual Agents or individual offices, but conform with broad policy applicable to all offices.

The FBI offers a variety of courses of instruction for law enforcement personnel throughout the United States, including such subjects as anti-sniper and survival training and special weapons and tactics, commonly known as "SWAT". The basic purpose of this training is to provide well prepared teams capable of resolving highly dangerous situations with a minimum of risk to innocent bystanders, the law enforcement personnel involved and the subjects of the investigation.

Enclosed is a newsclipping describing some of the training of our own personnel in this field. The article appeared on June 1, 1975, in the "Washington Star News."

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

Enclosure

NOTE: The information concerning the Special Agents assigned to the Berkeley, California, Resident Agency was furnished by ASAC Druken, San Francisco.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. W. R. WANNALL

FROM : MR. W. O. CREGAR

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland

DATE: June 3, 1975

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(J. B. Hotis)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. L. F. Schwartz

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

Memorandum W. R. Wannall to Mr. J. A. Mintz 4/11/75 recommended that a draft of the proposed Memorandum of Understanding concerning clearance procedures for Staff Members of the captioned Committees be coordinated with Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other appropriate members of the intelligence community.

On 6/2/75 the draft Memorandum of Understanding was discussed by SA L. F. Schwartz with Mr. John M. Clarke, Associate Deputy, Intelligence Community Staff, and Mr. Donald E. Moore, Chairman, Security Committee, U. S. Intelligence Board, who advised that the draft had been reviewed by CIA and by the Security Committee on behalf of the intelligence community. They requested that the draft be revised in order to recognize the need for certain Staff Members to be cleared for access to compartmented information (a procedure already being followed by the Church Committee) and the desire of the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) that it be made clear that the DCI will only offer his advice upon the request of the Committee Chairman and that in all cases the final determination as to clearance is the responsibility of the Committee Chairman.

Attached is a revised draft of the Memorandum of Understanding incorporating the changes proposed by Mr. Clarke and Mr. Moore which changes are underscored. Both Mr. Clarke and Mr. Moore were of the opinion that since Senator Church's Committee was already following the procedures outlined in the Memorandum of Understanding, and had completed the Committee Staff, it would be inappropriate to furnish a copy of the Memorandum of Understanding to Senator Church.

62-116395  
Enclosures

LES:ekw

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DATE 11/6/2000 BY SP8 AM/mk

62-116395-236  
JUN 18 1975

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
RE: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ACTIVITIES  
62-116395

RECOMMENDATION:

If the attached revised draft is acceptable to the Bureau, it will be provided to the Attorney General for his approval and subsequent transmittal to Congressman Nedzi. In accordance with opinion expressed by Mr. Clarke and Mr. Moore, a copy will not be furnished to Senator Church.

WRS

AF

Jim

PLM

WVC

Jim

QRS

LET TO A.G.  
ENCH. WITH FOR HSC  
6/12/75 WRS: don't

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Subject: Procedures for Determining Eligibility for Access  
to Classified Information or Material on the Part  
of Employees of the Senate and House Select  
Committees on Intelligence Activities

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) will conduct background investigations at the request of the appropriate Committee Chairman of applicants and employees of the respective staffs of above-mentioned Committees, so that a determination can be made as to their suitability for employment and as to their trustworthiness for access to classified information, in accordance with Executive Order 11652 and where necessary, for access to compartmented information in accordance with the standards set forth in Director of Central Intelligence Directive 1-14.

The FBI will furnish a summary memorandum containing the results of its investigation to the appropriate Committee Chairman.

In the case of an applicant, or employee, the Committee Chairman will make a determination as to the person's suitability for employment.

No person shall be given access to any classified information or material unless such person has been determined

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DATE 11/6/2006 BY SP2 [signature]

MOR-16

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-236



by the respective Chairman to be trustworthy and unless access to such information or material is necessary in the performance of the person's duties.

Where there is a question of trustworthiness for access to classified information, the Committee Chairman may wish to have the summary memorandum furnished to the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) by the FBI, with a request for the DCI's advice. In all instances, the Committee Chairman will make the final determination.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. J. B. Adams  
1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. J. A. Mintz

DATE: 4/11/75

FROM : W. R. Wannall

1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(Mr. Farrington)  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
1 - Mr. A. F. Watters, Jr.

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Reference is made to Legal Counsel memorandum to Mr. J. B. Adams, 3/12/75, and my memorandum, 3/25/75, both captioned as above.

By referenced memorandum dated 3/12/75, Legal Counsel recommended that the Intelligence Division (INTD) discuss with representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other members of the intelligence community procedures for clearing staff members of captioned committees for access to classified information when questions as to the individual's trustworthiness have arisen in the course of the FBI's background investigation. Following such discussions, Legal Counsel recommended that a Memorandum of Understanding concerning these matters be prepared by the INTD which might be used by both Senate and House Committees.

By memorandum 3/25/75, the INTD submitted for approval a draft of a proposed Memorandum of Understanding concerning clearance procedures for staff members of captioned committees. Special Investigative Division disagreed with several features of our draft memorandum and has prepared a revised memorandum, which is attached for approval.

The INTD has coordinated this matter with the Special Investigative Division and interposes no objection to the text of the revised memorandum; however, it is suggested that consideration be given to adding the words "by the FBI" at the end of paragraph five on page one. Paragraph five, thus modified, would read: "Where there is a question of trustworthiness for access to classified information, the Committee Chairman will have the summary memorandum furnished to the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) by the FBI."

Enclosure

AFW:dsh  
(7)

ENCLOSURE

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DATE 11/6/2000 BY SP2 RUM/1/1/1  
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62-116395-235  
LEGAL COUNSEL DIVISION  
ADDENDUM 1975 SEE PAGE 3

84 JUN 19 1975

NW 55020 DocId:32989606 Page 224

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-116395-235

Memorandum to Mr. J. A. Mintz  
RE: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Discussions of this matter with representatives of CIA and other appropriate members of the intelligence community have been held in abeyance pending approval within the FBI as to the text of the proposed memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, that attached revised memorandum be coordinated by the INTD with representatives of CIA and other appropriate members of the intelligence community prior to review by the Attorney General and transmittal to Senator Church and Congressman Nedzi by Legal Counsel Division.

all  
1/15

Amendment

NVC  
RS

WEL

Jan 1970



ADDENDUM: LEGAL COUNSEL DIVISION

PVD:dkg 4-15-75

Legal Counsel Division concurs with the general thrust of the memorandum of understanding, however, it is suggested the following wording be added where indicated:

Page 1, paragraph 3, insert after the word applicant, or employee. *On line 2, change "applicant's" to read "person's".*

Page 1, paragraph 4, after the word determined insert by the respective Chairman,.

Page 2, paragraph 1, after the word necessary insert by the Committee,.



*Pur*



## MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Subject: Procedures for Determining Eligibility for Access to Classified Information or Material on the Part of Employees of the Senate and House Select Committees on Intelligence Activities

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) will conduct background investigations at the request of the appropriate Committee Chairman of applicants and employees of the respective staffs of above-mentioned committees, so that a determination can be made as to their suitability for employment and as to their trustworthiness for access to classified information. *D*

The FBI will furnish a summary memorandum containing ~~the results of its investigation to the appropriate Committee Chairman.~~

*2 542-461*  
*PERSON'S*  
In the case of an applicant, the Committee Chairman will make a determination as to the ~~applicant's~~ <sup>PERSON'S</sup> suitability for employment.

No person shall be given access to any classified information or material unless such person has been determined <sup>BY THE RESPECTIVE CHAIRMAN</sup> to be trustworthy and unless access to such information or material is necessary in the performance of the person's duties.

Where there is a question of trustworthiness for access to classified information, the Committee Chairman will have the summary memorandum furnished to the Director of Central

Intelligence (DCI) by the FBI. *2*  
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *11/6/00* BY *SP8 BSM/LMF*  
*MOR* ENCLOSURE

The DCI will furnish his observations as to eligibility for access to classified information to the appropriate Committee Chairman for his consideration. The Committee Chairman will render the final determination after consultation, where it is deemed necessary, <sup>by the committee,</sup> with the interested agencies.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 3/12/75

FROM : Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

= Mr. Adams memorandum to Mr. Callahan dated 3/7/75, captioned as above, copy attached, reported our conversation with Senator Church and Congressman Nedzi.

As indicated in Mr. Adams' memorandum, Congressman Nedzi asked that we prepare a memorandum of understanding to be approved by CIA, FBI, and the House Committee concerning investigative and clearance procedures for members of the Committee's staff. It appeared appropriate to us to coordinate a memorandum of understanding to be drafted for the House Committee with that to be drafted for the Senate Committee. Therefore, following our return from the meeting with Senator Church and Congressman Nedzi, I called Bill Miller and advised him of the request made by Congressman Nedzi for us to prepare a proposed memorandum of understanding. I asked him whether it would be possible for us to coordinate the language of that memorandum with the understanding that it will be drafted for use by the CIA, other members of the intelligence community, and the Church Committee. Mr. Miller said that the proposal to coordinate the memorandum was completely acceptable to him and he requested that the draft memorandum being prepared for Congressman Nedzi be furnished him for review and possible adoption as the memorandum to be used by the Senate Committee.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the Intelligence Division discuss this matter with representatives of CIA and other appropriate members of the intelligence community and prepare a draft memorandum of understanding that may be used by both House and Senate committees.

Bufile 62-116395

Enc.

- 1 - Mr. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Farrington
- 1 - Mr. Mintz

JAM:mfd (6)

ENCLOSURE

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DATE 11/6/00 BY SP2 sum/lmg

17 JUN 18 1975

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. CALLAHAN

DATE: 3/7/75

FROM : J. B. ADAMS *JBA*

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. ☒  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection ☒  
Intell. ☒  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. ☒  
Training ☒  
Legal Coun. ☒  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

On 3/7/75 Mr. Mintz and I called on Senator Church and his staff director, Bill Miller, to further discuss the procedures for investigating and clearing staff employees of the Committee, particularly where information might be developed raising a question as to the propriety of a clearance. It had previously been approved that the FBI would conduct the background investigations, furnishing the results to Senator Church, and after his determination that the individuals met the required criteria for access to classified information he would notify CIA of his determination and intent to employ the individual involved, at which time CIA would grant the necessary clearance based on the certification by Senator Church.

In discussions between CIA and FBI representatives, we raised the question as to whether CIA would review the results of the investigation prior to granting clearances and CIA representatives indicated they did not intend to and were reluctant to inquire of Senator Church as to whether they could be furnished the results of any investigations involving derogatory information.

In discussing this matter with Senator Church, I inquired whether he had any objection to our bringing to the attention of CIA any questionable cases in order that CIA representatives, who have the responsibility of granting the actual clearances, would be in a position to advise and counsel with Senator Church on those individual cases. He had absolutely no objection to this and, in fact, felt there should be an open communication between FBI, CIA and his Committee to insure that no one was appointed and cleared who did not measure up in every respect from a security standpoint.

I discussed with him the particular case of Stanley Rawson Sloan, the results of which I had brought for delivery to Senator Church. Sloan was

JBA:ams  
(5)

1 - Mr. Cleveland  
1 - Mr. Wannall

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17 JUN 18 1975

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Memorandum for Mr. Callahan  
Re: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

formerly employed by CIA and resigned in December, 1974, after his clearance for sensitive compartmented information had been lifted as a result of his marrying an alien. This marriage would not preclude him from clearance for access to lesser degrees of sensitive material but only for the more sophisticated clearances. Mr. Miller advised that Sloan had not been appointed and was not going to be appointed because of other reasons unrelated to a security clearance.

Senator Church indicated that he felt it would be wise to prepare a memorandum outlining our security clearance procedures and his staff would be glad to prepare such a document.

Following the meeting with Senator Church, Mr. Mintz and I dropped by to see Congressman Nedzi, Chairman of the House Committee, and delivered to him Mr. Kelley's letter congratulating him and offering him our complete cooperation. Chairman Nedzi stated that he was very appreciative of this offer and would consider Mr. Kelley's request to confer with him as an open invitation and as soon as things had shaken down he would be in touch with us.

We discussed with him the investigative and clearance procedures we were following with the Senate Committee and Chairman Nedzi agreed the same procedures should be followed with his Committee, including our making available to CIA any derogatory information which might be pertinent to a clearance determination. At first, he suggested that we send the results of our investigations to CIA before coming to the Committee but then concluded that it would be more appropriate for them to come to him first since some of the applicants under consideration would probably not be appointed. He specifically asked that we prepare a memorandum of understanding to be approved by CIA, FBI and himself.

I asked Mr. Nedzi whether he felt the formulation of his Committee would serve to trim down the number of requests for information being received from various House committees and it was his opinion that it would help in some instances; however, in others committee chairmen would pursue their own inquiries. He personally did not feel he had the clout nor the desire to try to preempt this area entirely for his Committee. He also stated he felt that CIA's problems had in the main been fully exposed and would soon be



Memorandum for Mr. Callahan  
Re: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

of less concern, whereas the concern over domestic security policies of the FBI would undoubtedly be greater in the future. He expressed his appreciation for our cooperation and indicated he was striving for a responsible approach to the inquiry.

Following the meeting with Mr. Nedzi, Mr. Mintz and I agreed that it would be best for us to prepare a proposed memorandum of understanding concerning the investigative and clearance procedures for both Committees in order to try to insure uniformity, and Mr. Mintz will get in touch with Bill Miller to seek his concurrence in that regard. Our efforts will be coordinated with CIA and the proposed memorandum as drawn up will be submitted for the Director's approval.

ACTION:

Information only.

*gmm*

*adp*

*K*

CONTINUED - OVER

94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. RES. 165

[Report No. 94-181]

## RESOLUTION

Authorizing supplemental expenditures by the  
Select Committee To Study Governmental  
Operations With Respect to Intelligence  
Agencies for an inquiry and investigation  
relating to intelligence activities carried out  
by or on behalf of the Federal Government.

By Mr. CHURCH

MAY 21, 1975

Referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

JUNE 5, 1975

Reported without amendment

JUNE 6, 1975

Considered and agreed to

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DATE 10/18/2006 BY SP2/ML/AMC  
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17 JUN 18 1975

NOT RECORDED

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94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. RES. 165

[Report No. 94-181]

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 21, 1975

Mr. CHURCH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the  
Committee on Rules and Administration

JUNE 5, 1975

Reported by Mr. CANNON, without amendment

JUNE 6, 1975

Considered and agreed to

## RESOLUTION

Authorizing supplemental expenditures by the Select Committee  
To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelli-  
gence Agencies for an inquiry and investigation relating to  
intelligence activities carried out by or on behalf of the  
Federal Government.

- 1 *Resolved*, That section 6 of Senate Resolution 21,
- 2 Ninety-fourth Congress, agreed to January 27, 1975, is
- 3 amended by striking out the amounts "\$750,000" and
- 4 "\$100,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$1,150,000" and
- 5 "\$300,000", respectively.

V

62-116395



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 5-28-75

FROM : Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD-Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD-Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

By memorandum dated 5-22-75 you were advised that former SA Robert Nichols had been contacted by Lester B. Seidel, staff member of captioned Committee, at which time Seidel attempted to arrange an interview of Nichols. Nichols was advised by Deputy Assistant Director Jack E. Herington of the provisions of Attorney General Order 501-73 pertaining to Departmental approval prior to furnishing information from Bureau files. He was also reminded that he had signed an employee agreement with the Bureau agreeing to maintain confidentiality of the information contained in Bureau files. He was advised if he requested, the Bureau would make available a representative to accompany him should he be interviewed by the Committee.

Former SA Nichols telephonically contacted SA Paul V. Daly of this Division on 5-28-75 and advised he had been recontacted by Mr. Seidel. Seidel requested and Nichols agreed to travel to Washington, D. C., on the morning of 5-30-75 for an interview at the Committee's offices. Nichols stated that Seidel indicated the scope of the interview would be concerning Martin Luther King, Stanley David Levinson, and related matters. Nichols was unable to advise whether this was to be a staff interview or an appearance for testimony purposes before an executive session of the Committee. He stated he was not told by Seidel that his appearance would be pursuant to a subpoena. Nichols requested that the Bureau make available a representative so that Nichols may consult with him during the interview if need be.

EX-105 REC-20

JUN 6 1975

Mr. Nichols was informed that the presence of a Bureau representative should not be interpreted by Nichols as being his private counsel but that the Agent would assist Nichols in making determination whether a specific question should be responded to or whether a response could properly be declined because an answer might compromise a source,

62-116395

- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. Daly

- 1 - Personnel File 67-414885  
(Former SA Robert Nichols)
- 1 - Mr. Hotis

PVD:kjs (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

Legal Counsel to Mr. J. B. Adams  
RE: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

sensitive investigative technique, divulge information furnished the Bureau by other Government agencies and/or foreign intelligence sources or adversely affecting an ongoing investigation. It was pointed out to Mr. Nichols that if he so desires, he could, of course, obtain the services of private counsel. He indicated it was his intention to arrive in Washington Thursday night, 5-29-75. He was requested to appear in the Office of Legal Analysis, Room 4513, at approximately 8:15 a.m. on the morning of 5-30-75 so that arrangements might be made to brief him by the Office of Legal Analysis and subsequently by the Intelligence Division. Nichols stated he would do so.

The Office of Legal Analysis is attempting to obtain from Committee representatives further information as to the circumstances and exact time of interview of Nichols.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) Intelligence Division representative be made available to accompany Nichols to his interview with captioned Committee.

2) That Nichols be released from his employment agreement to respond to questions concerning our investigation of Martin Luther King, Stanley David Levinson, and related matters.

pu D IBH/pu D

Jim  
Per  
JH  
Jm



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

DATE: 5/28/75

FROM : Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

On May 27, 1975, James A. Wilderotter, Associate Counsel to the President, requested me and representatives of other agencies interested in the arrangements concerning interviews of witnesses by the Senate Select Committee to confer with him and Roderick Hills at 2:30 p.m. that date at the White House. Mr. K. William O'Connor, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Inspector John B. Hotis and I represented the Department and the FBI. Roderick Hills and James A. Wilderotter represented the President's counsel; Bob Andrews represented the Defense Department; John Warner, General Counsel, CIA; Roy Banner, General Counsel of NSA, and Mr. Hyland from State Department as well as [redacted] Deputy to the Director of CIA, attended.

JFK Act 6 (1)(B)

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the latest version of proposed procedures to be followed by the Committee staff investigators during interviews of former and current employees. Roderick Hills presented a document (copy attached) which he described as a counteroffer by Frederick Schwarz, Counsel to the Committee. He called for general discussion of the document after indicating that he had discussed this matter with Mr. Schwarz at lunch on May 27th and felt that it was a workable document. I pointed out to Mr. Hills that the document provides that there would be notice to the agencies of the identity of witnesses at reasonable time prior to interviews or taking of sworn testimony except where "the committee or its appropriate delegee" determines that prior notice should not be given. I told him that I was concerned that that provision would be used by the Committee staff to permit individual staff investigators to make that determination and I was confident they would do so.

Enc.

- 1 - Mr. Wannall
  - 1 - Mr. Cregar
  - 1 - Mr. Hotis
  - 1 - Mr. Daly
  - 1 - Mr. Mintz
- JAM:mfd (7)

EX-105 REC-20 62-116395-231

7 JUN 6 1975

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DATE 10/12/2006 BY SP2 AM/mf

MDR-16

CONTINUED - OVER



Memorandum to Mr. Adams  
Re: Senate Select Committee, etc.

Mr. Hills was reluctant to seek a modification of the language indicating that he had an understanding with Mr. Schwarz that the authority would be limited to the senior counsel and to members of the Committee. I told Mr. Hills I would request that the language be modified in writing so that the authority would be conferred on specific representatives of the Committee to avoid having staff authority which I thought would be abused. Mr. Hills finally agreed that the language would be modified so that the authority would be available only to both Committee senior counsel and/or a combination of senior counsel and a Committee member. Further, the language would be modified to require that the determination that an agency would not be given prior notice of a pending witness interview would be recorded in writing for the Committee's records.

I asked Mr. Wilderotter and Mr. Hills whether this agreement was to be made between the staff and the agencies or whether it in fact would be accepted by the Committee. After some discussion, we were advised by Mr. Hills and Mr. Wilderotter that the document would be submitted to the full Committee for their approval and incorporated into the Committee's records.

I pointed out that I believed it was necessary for the understanding to be made between the Committee and the Executive in order for there to be some basis for restraining Committee staff investigators who may not be inclined to follow the rules.

Other proposed changes discussed would require the Committee representative to furnish to a witness a copy of the Committee's rules which includes advice concerning the right to counsel and a copy of the proposed guidelines for witness interviews.

I recommended that the guidelines be expanded to address the problem of existing secrecy agreements with former and present employees and the procedural problem involved in Attorney General Order 501-73 which requires prior Departmental approval in order for a witness to respond to a subpoena. As a result, Mr. Wilderotter advised on the morning of May 28, 1975, that he would recommend the addition of a sentence in the opening paragraph that would indicate the guidelines would not be understood to impair the constitutional rights of individual witnesses, agency agreements with employees or former employees, existing Departmental orders or the Committee's own rules.

Memorandum to Mr. Adams  
Re: Senate Select Committee, etc.

Other minor changes were considered and an effort will be made to correct the language so that the agencies will be obliged to make reasonable efforts to comply with all Committee requests instead of being required to furnish "all information" absolutely.

Mr. Wilderotter advised on the morning of May 28th that the comments described above will be discussed with Frederick Schwarz in an effort to finally resolve this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

A large, stylized handwritten signature, possibly reading "H. H. H.", written in dark ink.

PLM

A handwritten signature, possibly reading "J. H. H.", written in dark ink.A handwritten signature, possibly reading "J. H. H.", written in dark ink.

OUTLINE FOR INQUIRY PROCEDURES

It is hoped that these voluntary guidelines will permit the Select Committee investigation to proceed without undue delay, but it is also recognized that these guidelines do not cover all points or anticipate all problems and that, therefore, either the Select Committee or some agency under investigation may have reason not to follow these suggested guidelines.

Also, it is recognized that this outline is without prejudice to the respective legal positions of the agencies and the Select Committee as to the production of specific information by way of documents or testimony.

*Not to impair Const. rights of individual witnesses, agencies, rules or agreements, common sense.*

A. Classification of Interviews/Preliminary Testimony

The parties to this investigation by the Select Committee recognize that interviews/preliminary testimony to be conducted by the Committee staff will generally be of two separate and distinct natures.

- (1) Those primarily seeking information concerning (A) the overall structure and functions of any agency or its relationship with other agencies or the Executive branch; (B) the substantive work being done by the agency, including the legal bases relied upon and the requisite approval levels for authorization; and (C) the capacities of each agency and the responsibilities to provide information for... other governmental entities.

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DATE 10/18/00 BY SPANM/lmf  
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ENCLOSURE

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- (2) Those primarily concerning specific allegations of agency or Executive branch abuses or other controversial specific matters where there is reason to believe improprieties may have occurred.

An agency representative will be present, as a general rule, at interviews/preliminary testimony in the first category for the purpose of assisting the Committee's investigation and facilitating the protection of information important to the national interest which is pertinent to the investigation. Similarly, as a general rule, agency representatives will not be present at interviews/preliminary testimony in the second category. The parties recognize, however, that for special reasons exceptions can be made in either case: i. e., when good reason exists, endorsed by the Select Committee, agency representatives may not be present for interviews/preliminary testimony falling under the first category, and for good and sufficient reason the agency may [seek to] have a representative present in the second category subject to the approval, of course, of the Select Committee.

B. Procedures to be Employed in Category (2).

When the Select Committee has identified a specific subject as a potential abuse or impropriety and has so notified the agency involved of its designation, that agency will, subject to the second sentence hereof, make [every effort] to provide the Select Committee

with all information and materials that it has on the subject. There will be a mutual effort by the Committee and the agencies to provide special handling techniques to convey or secure any particularly sensitive information or materials as appropriate.

In abuse or impropriety interviews/preliminary testimony, the following procedures will prevail.

(1) Witnesses will be identified to the agency a reasonable time prior to interviews or taking sworn testimony. This general rule includes current employees, former employees or others who have or have had a relationship with the agency.

#### Exceptions

- With record  
aff do. en.*
- A. Where the Committee or its appropriate delegate ~~by written order~~ believes that prior identification of a witness could adversely affect the witness' willingness to be interviewed or to be forthcoming, or could otherwise hinder the investigation, such prior notice ~~by written authorization~~ will not be given, but in such cases the agency shall be given a general indication of the points or areas to be covered to the extent that is feasible without undercutting the reason for not providing prior notice in the first instance. *Delegates shall consist of Comm. person or counsel of a comby senior counsel and committee member.*
- B. In certain cases, the Committee might notify the agency, if the agency agrees not to contact the witness before his appearance. The agency could identify for the Committee special security matters concerning prospective witnesses and provide information on how to locate a witness.

(2) When the Committee contacts a witness, it will explain the security and other arrangements between the Committee and the agency, as well as <sup>serve the witness a copy of</sup> these ground rules <sup>and a copy of the Committee rules.</sup> If the witness wishes to consult with the agency prior to his appearance, the Committee will not discourage or seek to interfere with that desire in any way and will help the witness contact the agency representative.

(3) Whenever they are not present at interviews or the taking of sworn statements, agency representatives will be available for consultations regarding the handling of special security matters.

(4) Whether or not an agency has notice of an interview or sworn statement, the Committee will inform the agency of the general substantive points covered as soon as possible thereafter, unless disclosure of the substance of a particular interview would make discernible the identity of a confidential source. In such cases, the Committee shall, to the extent feasible without undercutting that decision, notify the agency in general terms of the points or areas covered, and the fact that it has interviewed a witness on such matters.

(5) Whenever an agency receives prior notice of a particular interview or taking of a sworn statement, it will also be notified



of the general subject areas and periods of employment in which the Committee is primarily interested. The agency will then check the subject's personnel history file and advise the Committee of any exceptionally sensitive aspects of the subject's employment or activity which require special handling.

(6) If because of concern about security of sensitive information, a witness feels unable to give a responsive answer to a particular question, the witness shall so indicate to the interviewer. The questioner and witness may then consult with the agency representative with respect to an appropriate response which will facilitate the provision of pertinent information and its protection. These matters should be worked out forthwith and ordinarily before the close of the interview/testimony session.

(7) The Committee is responsible for providing special handling of interview notes and other working notes in a manner which will protect sensitive material. At the conclusion of the Committee's inquiry, the Committee will consult with the agencies concerned regarding the appropriate disposition of any such notes which have not been destroyed following the preparation of finished Committee documents. The agencies will indicate which of these notes it feels are too sensitive to be stored under the Archives

arrangement being established for the general disposition of the  
Committee's working papers and non-public reports.